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SPANISH COLONIAL REORGANIZATION UNDER THE FAMILY COMPACT¹

The rude shock of defeat in the Seven Years' War momentarily chilled French and Spanish enthusiasm for their union under the Family Compact. But the alliance, saved at great cost in the peace, was too precious an instrument of future revenge to be neglected by its author, the Duc de Choiseul.² Equally evident was the opportunity it offered France to acquire a favored position in Spanish commerce at the expense of the common enemy England.³ Obstacles in the path of perfect concord between the two powers, such as the Placentino question and the opposition of the Spanish minister Ricardo Wall, were removed by mid-August of 1763. Spain was induced to accept a settlement of the former question and Wall was succeeded by the friendly and sympathetic Grimaldi. There ensued a golden period of French influence in Spain which lasted to the Falkland Islands fiasco and Choiseul's fall from power, on December 24, 1770. Although all efforts to secure commercial advantages for France failed to make head-

¹ Paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association, Minneapolis, December, 1931, and based on materials secured as a Social Science Research Fellow in 1928-1929.

² Cf. Arthur S. Aiton, "The Diplomacy of the Louisiana Cession", in *American Historical Review*, XXXVI, 701-721.

³ Cf. Louis Blart, *Les rapports de la France et de l'Espagne après le Pacte de Famille* (Paris, 1915), pp. 43-71; Vera Lee Brown, "Studies in the History of Spain in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century", in *Smith College Studies in History*, XV. (Northampton, 1929-1930), 39-63.

way against Charles III.'s determined effort to revive Spanish industries⁴ the decade saw the initiation of far-reaching reform in Spain's colonial system and trade policy along French lines and, as is generally conceded, under French direction. This paper represents an attempt to determine the extent of this influence with greater precision through a study of the diplomatic and commercial correspondence of the two countries. All the accounts of the eighteenth century, general and particular, note the influence of France and the introduction of French institutions into Spain from the time of Philip V., and single out certain French agents for special treatment; nevertheless, there exists no systematic study of the French attempt to convert Spain into a formidable military ally in the years following the Peace of Paris.⁵

Choiseul accepted defeat in the Seven Years' War in the hope that a new and more successful war might be waged after a term of repose. An offensive plan prepared by him in 1760, might, he thought, bring victory if Spain could be rejuvenated.⁶ The Bourbon alliance he had forged was the keynote of his foreign policy. By its terms, France must come to the aid of its ally in the event of a maritime conflict, so an unprepared Spain would drag his country into a useless and costly struggle and expose his policy as mistaken. For this reason, if for no other, Choiseul urged his program with indefatigable zeal, that would brook no opposition and rose superior to the disappointments occasioned by Spanish delays. The year 1765 found the plan of commercial and administrative reor-

⁴ Blart, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Blart, *op. cit.*, devotes a chapter to the diplomatic side of the preparation for revenge against England; there is a brief general discussion in H. I. Priestley, *José de Gálvez, Visitor-General of New Spain* (Berkeley, 1916), pp. 41-46; but the standard accounts of the reign of Charles III. pass over the subject lightly and such works as Francis P. Renaut, *Le Pacte de Famille et l'Amérique* (Paris, 1922) and the studies of French policy under Choiseul are satisfied with generalizations and incidental references.

⁶ Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Politique, Espagne, Choiseul to D'Ossun, November 13, 1763, vol. 539, f. 319.

ganization formulated and launched, the reform of defenses actively under way, and a close and confidential relationship between the two powers an actuality. Three years later, the time originally set for the renewal of hostilities with England, the scheme while making splendid progress was not sufficiently realized to warrant trying the test of war. The expulsion of the Society of Jesus from his Catholic Majesty's dominions in the interim had undoubtedly distracted Spanish attention and absorbed energy needed in the more general task of colonial reorganization.⁷ Two years later, Spain was willing to accept the Falkland's Islands incident as a proper cause for conflict, but Louis XV., influenced by Madame Du Barry, dismissed and exiled his minister to avoid a war.⁸ Spain, forced by this procedure to accede to England's demands, continued to play lip service to the Family Compact, but had no great confidence in its ally until Vergennes assumed the ministry in the next reign.⁹ Even then full confidence was withheld and France was excluded from the Portuguese settlement of 1777.¹⁰ This course seemed to be fully justified when the American Revolution, predicted by Choiseul in 1765,¹¹ drew France into the war without prior consultation with Spain. Spanish entry into that struggle the following year was by Spain's own choice and at its own terms. The two decades intervening between Choiseul's fall from power and this event had witnessed a continuation of the colonial reforms he had advocated to which

⁷ Cf. François Rousseau, *Règne de Charles III d'Espagne* (2 vols., Paris, 1907), I. 109-243; Blart, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-143.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-203, cf. Julius Goebel, *The Struggle for the Falkland Islands* (New Haven, 1927), pp. 271-411.

⁹ Spain and Austria had urged Vergennes in 1771 as Choiseul's successor in the French ministry and had opposed the Duc d'Aiguillon, who was, nevertheless, appointed. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Estado, 4129, n. 719, Fuentes to Grimaldi, January 10, 1771.

¹⁰ Arch. Hist. Nac., Madrid, Estado, 4072. Contains the story of the French effort to participate in this peace, in order to secure advantageous trading terms with Portugal for France.

¹¹ Roger H. Soltau, *The Duke de Choiseul* (Oxford, 1909), pp. 87-91.

the brilliant Spanish exploits in that war are an ample evidence.¹²

In the task of setting Spain's house in order, the Duc de Choiseul used numerous agents. On the economic side he was well served by the French agent general of marine and commerce in Spain, the Abbé Béliardi. This astute Italian adventurer in French employ had been appointed to Madrid in 1757, and there with the aid of a corps of consular agents, was an invaluable source of information. Memoirs, projects, informing letters, and ideas concerning Spanish trade and colonial matters flowed from his pen in great profusion. Among these, his *Grand Mémoire sur le Commerce des Indes* of 1763, a masterly exposé of the ailments afflicting the economic life of the Spanish Indies with suggested remedies, undoubtedly played an important rôle in the determination of the character and direction of Spanish reform.¹³ The Abbé Béliardi's importance on the political side, however, was negligible and the legend, built up by two French historians, picturing him as a super-ambassador and personal agent of Choiseul's secret diplomacy, has been thoroughly demolished by another French historian.¹⁴ The channels through which the French minister's influence flowed were the ambassador, the Marquis d'Ossun, and the minister and ambassador of Spain, Grimaldi and Fuentes, with whom he maintained a direct and confi-

¹² Cf. Juan F. Yela Utrilla, *España ante la Independencia de los Estados Unidos*, 2 vols. (Lérida, 1925), and the histories of the American Revolution which treat of the war in the west.

¹³ Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, salle des manuscrits, fonds français 10,764; 10,765; 10,766; 10,767; 10,768; 10,769; 10,770; 13,417; 13,418; 13,419. These are analysed and discussed in, Pierre Muret, "Les papiers de l'Abbé Béliardi et les relations commerciales de la France et de l'Espagne au milieu du XVIII^e siècle (1757-1770)", in *Revue de l'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, IV. 657-673. The influence of the *grand mémoire* on Spanish reform is indicated by the report that Grimaldi had read it *in extenso*. Arch. Aff. Étr., Espagne, 543, ff. 249-253, D'Ossun to Choiseul, July 22, 1765.

¹⁴ Blart, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49, has applied the necessary correctives to the one-sided thesis contained in Pierre Muret, *op. cit.*

dential correspondence.¹⁵ Through these intermediaries he was able to secure the appointment and the advancement of many individuals in various branches of the Spanish government who furthered his schemes of reorganization in their posts. France, in other words, guided the work of the reform through Spanish officials who owed their places to French favor. If this can be established, France must be accorded a greater share of credit for the successes of the enlightened policy of colonial reorganization under Charles III.

The clue to the situation is offered by Herbert I. Priestley in his standard work *José de Gálvez, Visitor-General of New Spain, 1765-1771*, where he comments:

It is to the passing complaint of Francisco Carrasco, who was first chosen for the American visitation, to the effect that the French ambassador and the Abbé Béliardi accounted the triumphs of Gálvez as those of themselves and their nation, and that they lionized him ever since his marriage with a Frenchwoman, that we owe the possibility of connecting Gálvez personally with the economic designs of Choiseul for Spain and Bourbon cause.¹⁶

A search for the reasons behind this French assumption of a generous share of the praise for the labors of Gálvez in America reveals definite French intervention on his behalf at important steps in his career and brings to light a similar relationship between the official lives of such distinguished new world agents of Spain as Alejandro O'Reilly and Teodoro de Croix and the approval of the court of Versailles.

Spain and France agreed after the peace of 1763 that they must concert measures of defense and a plan of rehabilitation if they wished to emerge victorious in the next war with England. The exposed position of the Spanish Indies made it essential that these possessions be given early and careful consideration in the deliberations of the Bourbon powers.

¹⁵ An examination of the entire official correspondence of these officials in the French and Spanish archives through this period is the basis for this statement.

¹⁶ Priestley, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 40.

Under the impatient urging of Choiseul, a secret committee was formed in Madrid consisting of the Marqués de Grimaldi, representing foreign affairs and in close touch with France, Bailio Julian de Arriaga, the minister of the Indies and marine, and the Marqués de Squillace, the minister of finance, to meet every Thursday,

to discuss matters relative to the future security of the Spanish Indies and the augmentation of His Catholic Majesty's revenues in America, and lastly the restoration of the navy.¹⁷

Early in 1764, the general outlines of the new scheme had emerged. D'Ossun wrote, on January 23,

the arrangements are already decided, above all those which concern the defense of the West Indies, and the three ministers, who meet regularly every Thursday at present are going to consider the means whereby the infinite abuses which have grown up in the interior government of the vast states Spain possesses in America may be remedied and how the revenues of His Catholic Majesty may be increased.

Already, he pointed out, a plan of defense including new fortifications and the formation of new world militia was formulated, and although no conclusions as to commerce had been arrived at, they favored free Spanish commerce to all colonies exposed to contraband trade with payment of moderate duties. Mexican trade was to be kept exclusive but with a reduction of the exorbitant duties then collected.¹⁸ Choiseul applauded the scheme of the committee but commented that it was as yet "a work in speculation and on paper which can only be made honorable and useful by a prompt and complete execution".¹⁹ The commercial reforms, the study of which was thus initiated by the secret committee of imperial defense, were more definitely recommended in a later report of a junta

¹⁷ Arch. Aff. Étr., Espagne, 539, f. 321, D'Ossun to Choiseul, November 14, 1763.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 540, ff. 64-68.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 98, Choiseul to D'Ossun, February 7, 1764.

of experts which reported on February 14, 1765,²⁰ and which José de Gálvez was to carry out first as visitor-general of New Spain and later as minister of the Indies.

As the program of constructing new world defenses was started immediately, money to finance the projects had to be secured. As early as March, 1764, it was determined that the magistrate Francisco Carrasco should be sent to Mexico to institute reforms as superintendent of finance. His release from the obligation and the death of a second appointee, Francisco Anselmo de Armona, opened the way for the appointment of José de Gálvez in 1765,²¹ as inspector-general of the finances of Mexico and visitor-general of New Spain clothed with ample powers to secure the results desired by Spain. A former legal counselor of the French embassy in Madrid, his selection excited the comment by D'Ossun ". . . I believe I can say that he owes this rapid and brilliant fortune to France, as M. l'Abbé Béliardi can explain to you".²² Gálvez's successful career in New Spain was followed with approval by France and held up as an example of what might be accomplished and as an incentive to increased effort.²³ News of his illness in 1766 drew condolence from the French minister and the statement that his death would be a great loss.²⁴

Gálvez's career on his return to Spain, especially as minister of the Indies, after 1775, was followed with close attention by France. His attitude on the Portuguese question in 1776, for example, was praised and he was accorded every support in the hope that a definitive settlement could be brought about.²⁵ In this same year, Gálvez was responsible for the granting of the only considerable trade concession secured by France under the Family Compact. On his favorable advice

²⁰ Priestley, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-29.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 134; Arch. Aff. Étr., Espagne, 540, ff. 217-219, D'Ossun to Choiseul, March 26, 1764.

²² *Ibid.*, 542, f. 134, D'Ossun to Choiseul, February 11, 1765.

²³ *Ibid.*, 545, ff. 93-98, 144; D'Ossun to Choiseul, February 10, 25, 1766.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, ff. 439, 440, May 27.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 580, ff. 324-326, Choiseul to D'Ossun, May 31.

the French West Indian Islands were given limited trading privileges to specified ports in Venezuela, Cumaná, and Guayaná, permission to navigate the Mississippi to New Orleans, and the right to trade there and in Cuba, with two French commissioners at the Louisiana port to regulate trade.²⁶ On the resignation of Grimaldi as first minister, in November, 1776, Gálvez and Floridablanca were the French candidates for the vacant post. Floridablanca's selection called forth the comment that Gálvez would be the most influential minister and that France could count on him and that Floridablanca, as one of Gálvez's pupils, would also support the Family Compact.²⁷ The Marqués de Croix, Gálvez's chief coadjutor in his North American task, and viceroy of New Spain from 1766 to 1771, was of foreign birth, a native of Lille and of Flemish extraction. He undertook the burdensome duties of his office with great reluctance. The French regarded this officer highly and there is a record in the diplomatic correspondence, which may or may not possess significance, to the effect that de Croix's nephew, Teodoro de Croix, was promised an abbey in France when his uncle went to Mexico as viceroy.²⁸

Alejandro O'Reilly is the most striking instance of a Spanish official who owed his advancement to French influence. From his days of service as Spanish military observer, attached to the French armies in Germany in 1759 and 1760, he was popular with the French. Choiseul wrote to D'Ossun concerning him, August 24, 1760,

. . . I have a far more interesting recommendation to make to you and pray you to support it with vigor to M. Wall. M. O'Reilly an officer sent to our army by the King of Spain has received encomiums

²⁶ *Ibid.*, ff. 74-76, 174-176, 188, 189; 581, ff. 53-63, D'Ossun to Choiseul, April 11, May 2, Grimaldi to Aranda, May 6, Instructions for limited free trade to Louisiana, July 8. Cf. for further information on this point *Documents relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas* (A. P. Whitaker, transl. and ed., DeLand, 1931), pp. xxvi, xxvii.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 582, ff. 253-255; 583, ff. 263-267, D'Ossun to Vergennes, November 11, 1776, February 24, 1777.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 570, ff. 348-350, D'Ossun to Aiguillon, June 10, 1773.

from our generals on his wise and moderate conduct, his intelligence, his worthiness, and his activity . . . I must admit to you on the basis of the accounts sent me, that I am enthusiastic about this meritorious man, who, if he is advanced, can render great military services to Spain, but whose talents will become useless if he is allowed to grow old in the lower ranks.²⁹

This impression was confirmed when O'Reilly visited Paris in November and was presented at court,³⁰ but, even before that time, Choiseul was informed, on September 24, that the king of Spain had made his protégé a colonel on the strength of his recommendation and that of the king of France.³¹ In December, on O'Reilly's arrival in Madrid, Charles III. accorded him an even greater recognition by an appointment as sub-inspector general of infantry.³² The following February, when Charles III. wished to send an officer to inspect the defenses in the West Indies, D'Ossun wrote:

I did not wish to propose M. O'Reilly to him, although I believe him to be well prepared to carry out the mission and in spite of his [O'Reilly's] private confidence that he greatly desired to be entrusted with the matter. He told me, moreover, that he would wager his head that he could stop all English attacks against the Spanish colonies if his Catholic Majesty would give him twelve battalions of his troops.³³

O'Reilly drew up a plan for the invasion of Portugal in 1762, but the direction of the campaign was given to others, and he was forced to play a subordinate rôle in command of the light troops. D'Ossun's disappointment found vent in the statement,

M. O'Reilly, who is without doubt the most capable of all the Spanish

²⁹ Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, legajo 1715, packet 4541, Choiseul to Masones de Lima, August 24, 1760.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Masones de Lima to Wall, November 14, 17, 21, 1760.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Masones de Lima to Wall. Arch. Aff. Étr., Espagne, 529, ff. 220-229, D'Ossun to Choiseul, September 8, 1760.

³² *Ibid.*, 530, f. 252, December 22, 1760.

³³ *Ibid.*, 531, f. 195, February 9, 1761.

officers, will not be pleased with this disposition, it is unfortunate that he is Irish and has still only the rank of colonel.³⁴

At the close of the war, O'Reilly was given an important share in the reorganization of new world defenses. He was sent to Cuba and Porto Rico to reform their defenses and to select a good harbor for fortification as a fleet base.³⁵ On his return to Spain, in 1765, he reported in full on his activities not only to his own government but also to the French government through the Abbé Béliardi.³⁶ His part in the protection of Charles III. from the Madrid mob in 1766 might, it was feared, compromise his usefulness since he was a foreigner and Spanish sensibilities were easily wounded. Fortunately, this was not the case, and when, in 1769, the French population of Louisiana revolted against Spanish rule, O'Reilly, on the point of leaving for a tour of military inspection in Porto Rico, Cuba, and Mexico, was, with full French coöperation, entrusted with the delicate task of restoring order. His rapid and successful operation elicited warmest French praise.³⁷ Shortly after his return to Spain in 1770, he was rewarded by appointment as inspector-general of Spanish infantry with wide powers, and placed in charge of a school of officers at Ávila. This promotion was viewed by France as an evidence of a genuine desire on the part of Spain to improve its army.³⁸

In the ensuing years French support of O'Reilly was unwavering. Even his disastrous attempt before Algiers in 1775 failed to shake their faith in him, and public irritation against him was regarded as the unfortunate result of his foreign birth. Vergennes minimized its importance saying, "Algiers

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 534, f. 297, December 14, 1761.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 541, ff. 122-123, copy of O'Reilly's orders.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 543, ff. 338-342; 544, ff. 41-51, D'Ossun to Choiseul, August 12, September 9, 1765. O'Reilly had found Guantanamo Bay to be the best harbor but too difficult to fortify.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 557, ff. 405, 422, 423, Choiseul to D'Ossun, September 5, 12, 1769.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 559, ff. 547, 548; 560, f. 14; 573, ff. 138-141; D'Ossun to Choiseul, June 15, Choiseul to D'Ossun, July 3, 1770; D'Ossun to D'Aiguillon, February 28, 1774.

and Morocco are flies more annoying than dangerous, England is the monster against whom we must always be prepared".³⁹ O'Reilly's "ill-luck" was seen as a blow to French prestige but in nowise a proof of incompetence on his part. As a result of this attitude and of the faith of Charles III. in his officer, O'Reilly was not disgraced, despite the activities of an Aragonese anti-French cabal. He was appointed captain-general of Andalusia, left in his post as inspector general of infantry, and was spared an investigation into his conduct.⁴⁰

France, in addition to the favor thus accorded Spanish officials, transferred experts from her own services to those of Spain. The Marquis de Vallière was sent into Spain and initiated the reorganization of Spanish arsenals and siege equipment, in September, 1763. He then departed for America where he planned and carried into execution the new fortifications of Havana.⁴¹ M. Maritz was placed in charge of the casting of cannon for Spain and successfully used copper from the Indies by the introduction of new methods in 1774.⁴² M. Gautier, the presiding genius in the rebirth of Spanish naval strength designed and built ships of the line and frigates which cut the sailing time to Buenos Aires to fifty-four days for the voyage.⁴³

From this brief survey it should be evident that France exercised a more definite influence on Spanish reorganization in the years following 1763 than formerly supposed, and that Béliardi was not the sole avenue through which Choiseul reshaped the instrumentalities of Bourbon power for a new war with England. D'Ossun and Grimaldi, from a study of the diplomatic dispatches, emerge as the most powerful agents of his policy, and in addition to French experts in Spanish

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 576, f. 341, Vergennes to D'Ossun, July 28, 1775.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 578, ff. 4-7, D'Ossun to Vergennes, October 2, 1775.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 538, ff. 103-112, 321; 539, f. 225; 543, ff. 268-276, D'Ossun to Choiseul, April 4, September 19, 1763, July 28, 1765.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 573, ff. 385-387, 448-449, D'Ossun to Choiseul, May 30, June 27, 1774.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 543, ff. 220-230; 560, ff. 4, 74, D'Ossun to Choiseul, July 15, 1765, July 2, 1770, Choiseul to D'Ossun, July 23, 1770.

service, it would seem that some of the "key men" confided with the basic tasks of reform in the Spanish Indies, like Gálvez, Croix, and O'Reilly were, to a considerable extent indebted to France for their positions. Finally, it will be noted that the entire program of colonial reform was worked out by a secret committee of ministers under French prompting over a year in advance of the detailed report brought in by the junta of 1765, which has heretofore been regarded as the starting point of colonial reorganization in the reign of Charles III.

A. S. AITON.

University of Michigan.

THE AGE OF THE CAUDILLOS: A CHAPTER IN HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORY

A little over a century ago the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of the western hemisphere, except Cuba and Puerto Rico, broke away from the mother countries, and set up independent governments of their own. Portuguese Brazil chose an imperial form of government, which continued until 1889, when a revolution established the republic. The Spanish colonies split up into a number of countries, all of which have been self-styled "republics" from the beginning of their independent life, and they were joined in 1903 by Panama and in 1902 by Cuba, separated from Spain in 1898, in which last-named year Puerto Rico was annexed to the United States. One of the dominant facts—one might almost dare to say *the* dominant fact—in the political history of Hispanic America in this era has been the existence of the institution of "caudillism", based on the rule of individuals commonly called "caudillos". Somewhat weaker terms occasionally employed to imply the same thing are the words "caciquism" and "caciques". There is a vast literature on this subject in the writings of Hispanic Americans, with whom it is a favorite topic for study, especially on the part of some of the more distinguished intellectual leaders in the southern republics. Yet, strange to say, there is an almost complete lack of intelligent discussion of this factor in the books of Anglo-American writers—hardly a word about it in the various text-books and broad surveys of Hispanic American history thus far published, except occasional chapters in works of Hispanic American writers which have been translated into English.¹ The story, indeed, is worth at least a volume, but for the present this outline must suffice.

¹ The power of the "cacique" has been very potent also in the Philippines.—Ed.

It would seem that two preliminary questions might well be asked. In the first place, just what are, or were, caudillos? And secondly, what are the dates for the era of their importance? The precise answer to each of these questions would have to be "I don't know, and neither does anybody else". However, an attempt will be made to give at least a hazy answer to the two questions just propounded.

One normally thinks of a caudillo as a military man, almost literally a man on horseback, who is at the same time the political boss and absolute ruler of a country, or perhaps a district within a country, despite the democratic and republican provisions of constitutions and laws to the contrary. And yet there have been civilians in power whose rule was of the same sort as that of the more numerous soldier-caudillos, and they should not be excluded from the group—García Moreno of Ecuador is an example. Usually the word caudillo carries with it some idea of opprobrium, since the great majority of the caudillos were evil and violent men, little worthy of praise, but in some cases their merits far outweighed their defects, and a few were among the outstanding meritorious figures their countries have produced—as witness Artigas of Uruguay and the above mentioned García Moreno and perhaps Porfirio Díaz of Mexico. Some of the caudillos were extraordinarily cruel and employed the element of terror as their principal method for maintaining themselves in power, while others, though brooking no opposition, joined hands with the capitalists and the church in order to rule in an outwardly respectable and benevolent manner.

Generally, the more violent of the caudillos appeared in the early years of the republican era, while those of later years were somewhat less crude and barbarous. On a smaller scale, much the same sort of evolution manifested itself in the careers of individual caudillos, whose measures were much harsher during the years when they were insecure in their power than they were after they had established control. In

other words, the caudillos changed, just as did the people whom they ruled, and tended to adapt themselves to public opinion in so far as it did not conflict with their own interests. They persistently vociferated their own alleged "patriotism", and conformed to the letter of the law and the constitution, or if some paragraph in the "fundamental document" interfered with their desires, despite their control over all branches of the government in fact, they simply wrote a new constitution and "obeyed" that. In any event, by whatever device, their rule was military and despotic, though often to the accompaniment of pomp and pageantry, display and etiquette, in order to produce the glamor as of royalty to impress the crowd.

Once in office, the caudillos ruled permanently, or until defeat overcame them. Periodical "elections" would be held, but as the henchmen of the caudillos made up the voting lists and counted the votes, these "manifestations of the popular will" were an overwhelming mandate in favor of the existing government, not infrequently to the extent of a nearly unanimous vote. In rare instances, a caudillo was able to pass on his power to a favorite of his own, but the usual route to retirement was through the rise of another caudillo, who eventually took violent possession of the government. Such a successor might come from one of two classes. He might be one of a number of exiled opponents, several of whom aspired to take the place of the man in power. Often, however, the new caudillo was a one-time henchman of the old, who had gone over to the opposition in exchange for the assurance of succession to office. Such a man was Urquiza, who overthrew Rosas in Buenos Aires. The fact that Urquiza did not make selfish use of his opportunities does not prevent his case from being cited in order to show how a caudillo might be swept from power. Rosas had his Urquiza, but his nemesis might have been a Quiroga, a López, or a Reinafé.

These names call to mind another and very important point, namely, that in very disturbed times there might be

caudillos in different regions of some one country, each of whom might be as despotic in his locality as were the greater caudillos who represented the nation. Many names of the greater caudillos are comparatively well known, but one must not forget the hundreds, perhaps thousands, of lesser lights out in the provinces. In comparatively recent times, Mexico had its Pancho Villa. Hispanic America has known many a Pancho Villa.

Let this suffice for the moment for an answer to the question: What is a caudillo? And now, when were the caudillos in power? It is generally agreed that the caudillos were already in the field from the very moment of independence; indeed, it would be more accurate to say that the wars of independence against the mother country were contemporaneous with local conflicts among those who aspired to be caudillos. The strife of the Carreras and O'Higginses in Chile furnishes a perfect illustration of this point. Even Bolívar, San Martín, and the first Brazilian emperor, Pedro I., were in a sense caudillos, although one dislikes to associate them with a status which has fallen into such general disrepute.

The determination of the duration of the era is not so easy. It is customary to date the emergence of Chile from the age of the caudillos with the appearance of Portales in 1830, and yet, for a generation thereafter, Chile was ruled by more or less autocratic presidents who, indeed, went out of office at the end of ten-year presidencies, but who nevertheless chose their own successors. In the case of Argentina, some name 1852, the year when Rosas fell, and others, 1862, when Mitre ascended to power. Uruguay's emergence is dated from the 40's of the past century, but there has been a great deal of turbulence in Uruguay ever since. Colombia can hardly be said to have stepped into the clear until early in the present century. Cuba is not ordinarily considered to have entered the caudillo stage at all, but the governments of Gómez, Menocal, Zayas, and Machado have varied from those of some of the worst of the

caudillos of Central and South America only in so far as they have been held in check by the threat of United States intervention. Costa Rica is often cited as an example differing from the caudillo-managed republics of the rest of Central America, but the claims of Costa Rica will not bear too close inspection; the difference is one of degree only.

The Andean countries of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, and possibly Paraguay as well, had at least evolved out of the worst phases of caudillism by the close of the nineteenth century, but the presidents of these countries, if infinitely more decent than some of their predecessors and even devoted to some extent to constructive projects for national betterment, have exercised the power and employed some of the methods of the earlier caudillos in keeping themselves in office. What, for example, was Leguía of Peru, lately evicted from the presidency after some eleven years in office, if not a caudillo? As for Mexico, the Central American republics, the Dominican Republic, and its pseudo-French neighbor Haiti, not one of them has ever really graduated from the caudillo class. There may have been moments when they seemed on the point of doing so. With respect to Mexico, for example, the English writer Percy Martin once wrote a book in which he said that the institutions of Mexico were as sound and as little likely to upset through the medium of a revolution as those of the United States.² His book was hardly off the press before the revolutions beginning in 1910 were under way. So it is not safe to count too much on a few years of comparative peace. Even in the best of the Hispanic American countries, one finds something of the shadow of the man on horseback. In 1930, there were successful revolutions or *coups d'états* in Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, and Brazil, and in 1931 another in Chile. In these same years, too, there have been a number of revolutions in Caribbean countries, such as those in Guatemala, Panama, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Salvador. Surely

² *Mexico of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1907).

the generals are not dead. And each of these revolutions represents at least the alleged illegal exercise of power on the part of those in office, after the pattern of the old caudillos.

In the light of these facts, who will dare to set dates for the age of the caudillos? At a venture, one might say that the earlier and more violent forms of caudillism had passed away in Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, and Argentina, perhaps in that order, by 1862; that they had spent the greater part of their force in the larger and more important of the other countries by the close of the past century, but continued in modified form from that time to the present, with the possible exception of Colombia, which may deserve a better rating; that Cuba probably belongs in this group; that all of the other countries have advanced very little from old-fashioned caudillism, except as outside influence is brought to bear; and that over all Hispanic American countries, without exception, there hovers a possibility of a return to some phase or other of the institution of caudillism.

So much for brief definition. The rest of this paper will discuss the question in greater detail and, perhaps, more convincingly. At the outset a new query naturally arises: "Just why should this, to us, strange institution have developed and taken such a strong grip in Hispanic America"? The question is not easy to answer in a few words. Many Hispanic Americans have written at great length in an effort to explain its origins. At this time, only a few observations, which can hardly be dignified by the title of a summary, can be offered, but they may in some measure make clear the situation.

It is hardly necessary to say that caudillism grew naturally out of conditions as they existed in Hispanic America; institutions do not have the habit of springing full-blown and without warning into life. One of the essential antecedents of caudillism is to be found in the character of the Hispanic races which effected the conquest of the Americas. Spaniards and Portuguese, then as now, were individualists, at the same time

that they were accustomed to absolutism as a leading principle of political life. "*Del rey abajo ninguno*" is a familiar Spanish refrain, which may be rendered freely "No person below the king is any better than I am". It is precisely because of the strength of this feeling that absolutism has become a necessary part of Hispanic practice, because usually only some form of strong dictatorship has been able to hold Hispanic peoples in check. Otherwise, in a truly democratic country of ten million Hispanic persons there would be ten million republics. Furthermore, it was the most adventurous and least conservative elements among the Spaniards and Portuguese who first came to America. Even some of their illustrious leaders were men of comparatively low origin in the mother country—men such as Pizarro, Almagro, Irala, and Garay, for example. In America, the conquerors were a dominant minority among inferior races, and their individualism was accentuated by the chances now afforded to do as they pleased amidst subjugated peoples. It must be remembered, too, that they did not bring their families, and in consequence not only was there an admixture of blood on a tremendous scale with the native Indians and even the negroes, but also tendencies developed toward loose and turbulent habits beyond anything which was customary in the home land. In other words, Hispanic society deteriorated in the Americas. To make matters worse, there were no compensating advantages in the way of political freedom, for the monarchy was successful in establishing its absolutist system in the colonies, a system which in practice was a corrupt, militaristic control, with scant interest in, or attention to, the needs of the people over whom it ruled. The Anglo-American colonies were settlements of *families* in search of new homes. They did not decline in quality, as there was no such association with the Indians as there was in Spanish America and Brazil. In Hispanic America, society was constituted on the basis of a union of white soldiery with Indian or negro elements. It tended to become *mestizo* or mu-

latto, with a resulting loss of white culture and the native simplicity of life. Soon the half-castes far surpassed the whites in numbers, and, especially in the cases of the *mestizos*, added to the prevailing turbulence in their quest for the rights of white men. Even in the eighteenth century it was the custom in Buenos Aires for men to go about armed with swords and muskets, for the protection of both life and property depended more upon one's self than upon the law. As for the Indians and negroes, they were usually submissive, but shared one feeling with castes and native-born whites—for, largely through the process of mendelism, there was a native-born white class—that of abomination for the government. Most persons in colonial days knew no patriotism beyond that of the village or city in which they lived. For this, in keeping with the individualistic traits of their character, they came to have an exaggerated regard. Spending most of their lives in the one locality and shut off by the restrictive policies of the mother country from contacts with the outside world they looked upon the “cackle of their bourg as the murmur of the world”.

In course of time, the “creoles”, as the native-born whites were called, became more conservative and less turbulent in the towns, as they developed something of wealth and social prestige, even if on a lower plane than that of the “peninsulars”, as the Hispanic political overlords were often called. They were ready, therefore, to place themselves on the side of authority against the disturbing elements, even on the side of the overseas Hispanic ruling class, until such time as they themselves could supplant them. One result of this social change was to push the adventurous characters into the rural districts, especially in the cattle countries. Thus for example, there developed the Argentinian *gaucho*, or cowboy,

filled with violent pride, quick in reply, impulsive in aggression, exaggeratedly grand and gallant, with an Arabic passion for mad pursuits, for ballad singing, for trinkets and gems, with the conceit of the

hidalgo and a Castilian disdain of work, taciturn and astute, malicious and reticent, with great nobility of manner and generosity of spirit, as of one who was not subject to the servility of daily tasks.

Even here, however, the creole master was a necessary factor in society, and he took advantage of his position to become the absolute lord of the district, at the same time that he descended in habits to the level of the *gauchos* upon whom he depended. Thus was created, for example, what Ayarragaray has called the *gauchocracia*, or "cowboyocracy", of Argentina, which produced Rosas and other far-famed caudillos of the Río de La Plata countries. To these forces in the colonial era must be added one more: that of hatred for anything foreign, with hatred for the peninsulars and their system taking first place among detested persons and practices. It was natural, therefore, that the overthrow of the rule of the mother countries would result in as great a departure as possible from the *form* of government of colonial days, especially in the Spanish American countries, because of the bitterness generated by the long and cruel wars of independence, but it was equally certain that the new régime would continue the essence of the old. Republics might be set up after the pattern of the then much admired United States, but there was no law or constitution which could save Hispanic Americans from themselves.

Without taking too much space for argument, a few words might be added in order to emphasize the existence of the factor of a favorable atmosphere in colonial days for the eventual development of caudillism. Indeed, the institution really existed throughout the pre-independence era. What were the conquistadores and adelantados and even the viceroys but absolute military and political bosses, except for the somewhat faintly exercised royal control? Not infrequently colonial officials continued to wield power despite higher orders to the contrary. An example of this, one out of many it would be possible to cite, was the case of Antequera in Paraguay, who

held his position for ten years against royally named successors, claiming that the king's signature was a forgery. Among the aborigines, too, the chief had been accustomed to exercise absolute sway, until somebody else should surpass him in influence. For the latter, it was a natural transition from native caciques by way of Hispanic officialdom to the caudillos of the early republics. The social keynote was one of individualistic absolutism in all classes, instead of that love of, and subjection to, the law which were such marked characteristics of the Anglo-American colonists. In consequence, with the disappearance of the mother country governments at the time of the revolutions, all authority fell with them, and there was no legal consciousness or political capacity ready at hand to cope with the turbulence which was to facilitate the emergence of the caudillos. When the citizens of Buenos Aires met together on May 25, 1810, to begin the movement for the overthrow of Spanish control, it was the first time that the people of that part of the Americas had exercised civic functions. Only the absolutism of the mother country had existed before, and in the bitter war period after 1810 it became a habit to denounce that dominance in exaggerated fashion as a tyranny of which the last vestige should be destroyed. There was no desire for a continuance of the institutions of the mother country such as there was in Anglo America. There was little in the way of political liberty worth preserving in either Spain or Portugal anyway. So institutions were adopted which were as far removed as possible from those of their former rulers, with the result that they did not fit the peoples of Hispanic America; in particular, an attempt was made to pass immediately from colonial absolutism to pure democracy. Naturally, the effort failed. It was possible to tear down the outward forms—one might say the nomenclature—of the old system, but its inner spirit remained, for it was ingrained in the habits of the people. As Alejandro Deústua, former rector of the University of San Marcos in Lima, once said to me:

“There was no abrupt change from the colonial period with the winning of independence. The colonial period lived on”. Indeed, according to Deústua, to a marked degree it “still lives”.

According to one of the Spanish viceroys, three centuries of Spanish rule had converted the inhabitants of the Indies “either into irreconcilable rebels or into men who were born to vegetate in obscurity or abject submission”. That continued to be the case in the era of independence. The masses accepted their new rulers as easily as they had the viceroys, but the rebellious elements fought the new governments as they had the old. Indeed, it became, and has remained, a form of patriotism to inveigh against “the government”, whatever it might happen to be. The wealthy creoles always favored those most likely to offer peace and security, and easily veered over to the winning side of any caudillo who might establish himself. Revolutions were fought in the name of various alleged principles, but only persons and ritual were overthrown; the social constitution remained the same, or changed but slowly. The wars against the mother country, in themselves, contributed to the development of caudillism. The reaction against the far-reaching centralism of the mother country inevitably drove the peoples of Hispanic America toward a localism which was in keeping with their individualistic character, but did not engender a patriotism as for a Virginia or a Massachusetts as in Anglo America. In Hispanic America provincial divisions were mere administrative units, with boundaries which were not precisely fixed and in which few persons were interested. Thus, only a few years prior to the outbreak of the wars of independence in 1810, it was possible for the Spanish government to transfer the vast province of Cuyo from Chile to the viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, without any thought of protest from anyone. With Cuyo, which includes a number of present-day Argentinian provinces, as a part of Chile, it would be Chile, not Argentina,

which would be the most important country of southern South America today. But in independence times, the people rallied, not to an administrative division, but rather to a *leader* against the mother country—a leader who very easily evolved into a caudillo.

Ignorance, turbulence, and what proved to be their great ally, universal suffrage, combined to assure the rise and overlordship of the caudillos. The overwhelming majority of the people of Hispanic America were illiterate. Certainly, it would be a generous estimate to assert that as many as ten per cent of the inhabitants could read and write. With this impossible background, democratic institutions were attempted. The meetings of the cabildos became demagogic tumults, with the masses sitting in the galleries and cheering the most radical and violent. It was on this account that new institutions were adopted by law which did not fit actual conditions, a prime cause of the failure of the early independence governments. The turbulence of the new alleged democracy could accept nothing less than universal suffrage, which of course was duly proclaimed. That meant the demagogue in the city. Much more important, it meant the caudillo in the rural districts, for the "sacred right of voting" became the principal legal basis of the power of the caudillos. Out of this there developed that curious phenomenon, the Hispanic American election. Elections were habitually fraudulent. The only question about them was whether the fraud should be tame or violent. If there were no resistance, various devices were employed to obtain the vote desired. But if there were opposition, the caudillo nevertheless won, but to the accompaniment of an orgy of blood. In the beginning the masses supported the demagogue of the city or the country caudillo. In these leaders, with their prating about the "rights of man", they found the vindication of their claims for political recognition. The conservative classes acquiesced. It was better to suffer the mob and grotesque usurpers than to lose one's life

and property through any genuine participation in elections. All that remained for the caudillos to do was to conquer the demagogues. Then at last the work was complete. The cast-out and wandering spirit of Hispanic absolutism had found a new home in the personality of the caudillos. The "cowboyocracy" of the Río de La Plata and its parallels elsewhere in Hispanic America had established themselves in the seat of power.

The typical caudillo of the early independence era has been described in these terms :

Tenacious and astute, capable of converting himself into a dictator by means of his cynicism of temperament and his systematic cruelty, he was part cowboy, part actor, avaricious of omnipotence, manufacturer of the terror, without any uneasiness of conscience, and with an obstinate contempt for human nature.

Under the caudillos there was no hierarchy, no division of powers. They themselves were absolute. Their will was the law. Caudillism became the real constitution, despite imported "fundamental documents". The caudillos ruled on behalf of themselves and their following, and protected such others among the wealthy as made fitting arrangements with them. Their government was rudimentary and military. The chief of state and chief of the army were one and the same person. At times they permitted others to carry on the government in name, but the caudillos were the real power. Government was purely opportunist, the exercise of power for its own sake and the profits accruing therefrom. The most successful caudillos were those who combined audacity and an animal-like courage with the methods of the braggart and bully.

The violent caudillos of early days usually observed the forms of the constitution and the laws, but did not hesitate to over-ride them if they proved annoying. As between acquiescence in the "sacred codes" to the accompaniment of delay on the one hand and usurpations and extortions on the other, they chose the latter. They employed fraud, terror, and cor-

ruption to reduce opponents to their control. The sword was never in the scabbard. The caudillos used it to get into power and to stay there. Those who resisted could expect no quarter, for cruelty was one of the fine arts of caudillism. Each of the caudillos might have his band of killers to assist him in his civic functions. Most notorious among such groups was the "Mazorca", or "Ear of Corn"—so-called because of the cohesion of its members—of Rosas, an organized body of assassins. Naturally, all political jobs, all graft, and all the fruits of office generally were the sole perquisite of the friends of the caudillo. From president, down through members of congress, to janitors and street-sweepers, all government was homogeneous.

Nevertheless, the caudillos did not forget the great outnumbering masses of the people. As already set forth, public opinion counted for something. So they made a practice of using the vocabulary of freedom and party principle. The documents of those days are filled to overflowing with terms like the following: the "liberator"; "restorer of liberty"—or "the constitution"—or "the laws"; the "pacificator"; "the only man capable of saving the country"; the "holy cause"; "the protector of the people from oppression"; "the deliverer of the people from chains"; "liberty"; "regeneration"; "restoration"; "purification"; "the voice of the people"; "the public interest"; "the honor of the country"; "the reign of public felicity"; and the opposites of these terms in such words as the following: "tyranny", which would certainly be "ominous" or "barbarous" or "funereal" or "execrable"; and the "monsters who dishonor humanity". Both sides shouted their party cries from the housetops at all hours—among others, "Federalism or death" or "Unitarism or death"—always nothing less than death! Rosas insisted that his adherents should display the party color, which was red, and so red bands and rosettes, red-painted interiors, everywhere something red, were the unfailing fashion in Buenos

Aires. To wear blue, the Unitarist color, was to court disaster, even death itself. One even had to wear a mustache and by no means to have side-whiskers, the hirsute adornment of the Unitarists, to be a good Rosas Federalist. And denunciations of the opposition were in extreme form. Rosas once wrote to a subordinate always to use the word "savage" when referring to the Unitarists. "Repeat the word 'savage'," he commanded; "repeat it to satiety, to boredom, to exhaustion." Thus did Rosas manifest his understanding of the psychological value of a phrase. And yet Federalist or Unitarist, or any party by whatever name, governed, once in power, in precisely the same fashion as the other party had done before it, in the absolute manner of the caudillos. The different leaders in no respect represented any real political or social conflict, but just different leaders. Government reduced itself to dominating and to resisting the efforts of others to dominate.

In point of fact this practice of exaggerated expression fitted in with the customs of the people. It was a Hispanic-American habit to conceive of causes in the name of persons. There have been far more "Miguelistas" or "Porfiristas" in Hispanic America than "Progressives" or men of other party names, at least in popular parlance. The leader, which meant the caudillo, was party, flag, principle, and objective, all in his own person. If conditions were bad, it was because another leader was needed, and for that matter each group had its "liberator" or "savior" of the country. Indeed, hyperbole of civic phrase makes its appearance in all the documentation of Hispanic-American history. All prominent men are national heroes or tyrants, according to whatever person happens to be writing. Thus Barrios of Guatemala is the god of Central American unity or he is what might be called the very devil of a caudillo. It makes research in this field a matter requiring great discrimination and critical appreciation, for hyperbole, I repeat, was and still is a Hispanic-American disease. The following is a prose translation of a poem which illustrates this tendency:

No longer resound the terms Thermopylae and the plains of Marathon. Plataea and Salamis are as if they never were, and Leonidas and Themistocles are not now famous in the world. These illustrious names have been eclipsed by those of Alvear and Brown.

One Buenos Aires writer of the same period pronounced in favor of a government "under a system which should be free and at the same time heroic", and thought that it would then be easy for the newly-born nation to "surpass all others". Even a notable statesman like Rivadavia expected an immediate realization politically of all those benefits to which even France and England had not yet attained.

The caudillos did perform one real service for the regions over which they ruled, and that was to replace turbulence with order. They were the only curb as against the prevailing anarchy. In so much at least they fulfilled the desires of conservatives and ignorant mass alike. The price of peace was great, but perhaps not too high; for example, in Buenos Aires alone, there were twelve revolutions in the one year 1820. That is not to say there was no more fighting, for aspirants to the place of power schemed against the caudillo in office, and a neighboring caudillo might war against the caudillo in the next province. Insecurity was still a keynote of the times. One caudillo is said to have erected a scaffold before his quarters upon which he placed the inscription: "For them or for me". And, indeed, even at the height of their power the caudillos were generally prepared for flight.

Eventually, the age of the violent or "muscular" caudillos, as they are sometimes called, came to an end, although there was a Zelaya in Nicaragua and an Estrada Cabrera in Guatemala in the present century, and there would be others like them were it not for the influence, rather faintly exercised at times, of the United States. In most parts of Hispanic America there continued to be caudillos, but they were now of the "tame" and "semi-cultivated" variety. A few countries, notably Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, banished the caudillos

altogether, but their ghosts remained in the offing, ready to materialize in a political emergency. Several broad forces were back of the disappearance of the muscular caudillo. Chronologically first were the pronouncements of the great leaders in the wars of independence, Bolívar and San Martín. Both of these men believed in strong government and centralization, or unitarism, and in this respect did not differ from the caudillos, but they stood for great countries rather than sectionalism, and for at least a little something of political liberty, with the idea that the masses might in the future develop capacity to work free institutions. In a sense the political history of Hispanic America has been an evolution toward the ideals of Bolívar and San Martín, and these great heroes, rejected at first, came at length to be accepted for what they represented. This was in accord, too, with the influence effected by liberal movements in Europe in the middle and later years of the nineteenth century.

Within Hispanic America itself several other factors contributed to bring about the change. Wealth began to be more prominent and in some measure to rival or surpass the generals. Intellectual leaders were no longer despised, and almost to a man they cast in their lot against the violent caudillos. And the provincial caudillos, who at one time ruled little more than a district which could be encompassed by a hard day's ride on horseback, expanded their power until they controlled the destinies of a country. The railways and telegraphs and other developments in the field of communications were a great aid in bringing about this change. The local caudillos remained in existence, but they were now distinctly subordinates of the great caudillo, so long as they retained his favor, or until they might become strong enough to supplant him. To some extent, too, the masses were less easy to deceive than they had been before. Experience had taught, though none too thoroughly, that something more than a phrase, a ribbon, or a moustache was necessary for a good government and that the promised millennium never came.

So outwardly the caudillo changed. All legal forms were now carefully observed. If the constitution stood in the way, great pains were taken *to make a new constitution*, instead of an open departure from the old. The "tame" caudillo preferred intrigue to violence, or if violence were necessary sought to place the burden of guilt upon others. A José Miguel Gómez of Cuba could invite Pino Guerra for a friendly game of billiards at the presidential palace, and then have assassins await him as he took his departure, afterward denouncing the crime to high heaven—and making no attempt to apprehend the would-be killers (for Pino escaped), who were well known henchmen of the president. Indeed, one of the outstanding traits of the tame caudillos was a certain feline duplicity. They were now afraid or ashamed of being thought to be caudillos. Nevertheless, caudillos they still were, with perhaps a little opposition tolerated now, though not always, but with the same absolutism as that of their violent predecessors, if in a new ambient. They no longer brandished the sword, but carried on organized pillage through the law courts.

Many of the caudillos, on the whole, deserve well in the verdict of history, even including some of the violent caudillos. Artigas, García Moreno, and Juárez are to this day great national heroes in Uruguay, Ecuador, and Mexico respectively. And many of those who attained to the presidency of a republic, even when they are greatly disapproved, merit at least some praise. In this group might be included such names as Francia of Paraguay, Rosas of Argentina, Páez, Guzmán Blanco and Gómez of Venezuela, Iturbide, Díaz, and Carranza of Mexico, Carrera and Barrios of Guatemala, Castilla of Peru, and Gómez and Menocal of Cuba. Santa Anna of Mexico, López of Paraguay, and the now "reigning" Machado of Cuba may belong on the border-line of at least a little decency and thorough-going badness. In Central America and Ecuador there have been many a Zelaya and Estrada

Cabrera, and even in countries a grade higher there have been utterly bad caudillos such as Castro of Venezuela, Marroquín of Colombia, and Melgarejo of Bolivia—to mention only a few, for a complete list would take up considerable space. Still many more names would be required to make up the roll of provincial caudillos, among whom there would be found few muscular caudillos deserving of praise, and only a scant minority of the tame variety with any claims to virtue. Quiroga of Argentina, immortalized by the “Facundo” of Sarmiento, and Pancho Villa of Mexico are examples of this class.

It might be fitting, in closing this paper, to refer very briefly to Mariano Melgarejo, the most notorious of all the violent caudillos of Bolivia. An illegitimate child, and reared in poverty and neglect, he developed into a rude, ignorant, violent, and quarrelsome ruffian, and he was notoriously sensual and a confirmed drunkard. Joined to his magnificent physique, which his many excesses failed to break down, he combined personal courage, boldness, and a readiness in action which carried him far. Becoming a soldier at an early age, he had already distinguished himself on the field of battle by the time he was eighteen. In 1840, by a sensational escape from imprisonment in Peru, he became a national hero. By a still bolder and sensational coup, he seized the presidency in 1864 and held it until 1871. Revolutions against him he put down with boldness and ruthlessness. If policy he had any, it was to keep his soldiers well paid and satisfied.

As president he gave himself up to continual debauchery, and his personal vanity was so great that he was susceptible to the grossest of flattery. It is said that this trait led him to give unduly favorable rights in the Atacama Desert to Chile, and to cede to Brazil a large extent of territory. His vanity led him to make a mock of religious ceremonies, for he insisted in intervening therein in a sensational manner.

By revolution he gained his power. By revolution he lost

it—fleeing rather ignominiously from La Paz when it seemed that he had a chance of gaining the day, and barely escaping into Peru. This flight, so at variance with his whole life, seems to have been caused partly because of his fears for his mistress to whom he was devotedly attached. In Peru and in Chile he lived for a few months in poverty, trying vainly to see his mistress who had escaped to Lima and was living with her brother, José Aurelio Sánchez, who had himself married Melgarejo's daughter. His mistress had declared that she would no longer live with him, and while trying to force an entrance into the house, he was shot to death by José. It was the typical end of a typical caudillo. In Bolivia he was succeeded in the presidency by General Morales, himself a notorious caudillo.³

The following theses, written as partial requirement for the Ph.D. degree in the University of California at Berkeley, none of which have been published, may be consulted in the library of the University:

- Altman, Ida Mae: *Juan Facundo Quiroga: The Tiger of the Argentine Pampas*. 1930.
- Bealer, Lewis Winkler. *Artigas and the Beginnings of Uruguay, 1810-1820*. 1930.
- Becker, Gilbert Bell: *Juan Manuel Rosas, Argentine Dictator*. . . . 1927.
- Brooks, Philip Coolidge: *Bernardino Rivadavia: Argentina's Statesman Among Warriors*. 1930.
- García, Marjorie Mary: *A History of Guatemala in the Era of Conservative Rule, 1839-1871*. 1932.
- Leal, Clarence Anthony: *Gabriel García Moreno: Life and Works of Ecuador's Most Famous President*. 1931.
- Neasham, Vernon Aubrey: *Juan Bautista Alberdi: Argentina Thinker of the Nineteenth Century*. 1932.
- Pylman, Alice Sarah: *Carlos de Alvear: A Study in the Origins of the Argentine Republic*. 1930.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

University of California, Berkeley.

³ The writer has a list of several hundred items which would have to be considered in a thorough study of caudillism. The topic has been ably and amply discussed by Argentinian authors, although there are other countries which have witnessed a more vicious and certainly more prolonged form of caudillism than Argentina. It is expected that at least a partial list of titles will be published in a future number of this REVIEW.

DOCUMENT

TEXT OF THE LAWS OF BURGOS (1512-1513) CONCERNING THE TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS

The origin, progress and abuses of the encomienda system of Indian servitude in Spanish America are fairly well known.¹ So also are the activities of Bartolomé de las Casas for amelioration, and the final promulgation of the New Laws of 1542, but the efforts of the earlier and humbler champions of the aborigine, and the very existence of the so-called Laws of Burgos, are almost unheard of, though knowledge of them rests upon the same general sources as the better known phases of the subject. The text of those laws has been unobtainable, though Las Casas evidently had it before him while writing his *Historia de las Indias*.

The encomienda system had been developing ever since 1496, when Indian labor by villages was in some cases substituted for the tribute or poll tax.² By 1512, the evil results had become only too apparent. Even in the new settlement of Puerto Rico, where it had been in force only three years, there was already comment; in Hispaniola the diminution in numbers had appalled the most careless. A population there which has been believed³ to comprise some two or three hundred thousand in 1492, had fallen according to Las Casas to some 60,000 by 1508, 46,000, by 1510, and 20,000, by 1512. The

¹ The whole story, so far as it concerns the Antilles, where the earliest phases appear, makes part of the present writer's "Economic History of the West Indies in the Sixteenth Century", now in manuscript awaiting revision from additional archival material obtained since its writing. Statements made in this introduction are based on information there used, but the more important references are given here for the convenience of readers.

² Herrera, *Historia General*, Dec. 1., Lib. 3., Cap. 13.

³ Oscar Peschel, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* (Stuttgart, 1877), p. 430 n. For reasons explained in my "Economic History", this may be somewhat high, but there were probably at least 150,000.

good father was estimating, and prone to exaggeration when handling figures, but other documents bear out his general numbers.⁴

As a result, certain decrees intended to better conditions had already appeared, such as Ferdinand's cédula of May 3, 1509,⁵ by which it was ordered that Indians might be used only in lighter labor, that they were to live in villages under their own officials, and that in order that they might not be worked too hard, their masters should pay only one half castellano per head, for the first year, instead of the legal amount, double that sum. Unfortunately, though Queen Isabella had certainly been actuated by humanitarian consideration for the Indian, there is no surety whatsoever that Ferdinand, after her death and till visions of eternal hell fire flared before his aging eyes, was troubled by anything more potent than fear for the labor supply upon which depended his revenues. Herrera tells us, for instance,⁶ that he allowed worse treatment of the natives after the queen's death left him a half interest in the Indies, than before, and there is an interesting letter from him to treasurer Pasamonte in Hispaniola, dated November 14, 1509,⁷ ordering all possible diligence in increasing gold production, and the use of all available Indian labor, even bringing it from other islands if necessary.

In 1511, however, a new factor entered the scene. While there had been clerics in the Indies since Columbus's second voyage, they had done little for the Indians, beyond an occasional wholesale administration of baptism in which the aborigines were assembled by the hundred and the rite performed by aspersion, as long as the priest was able to lift his arm. Now Fray Pedro de Córdoba and two other Dominicans ar-

⁴ Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, Lib. 2., Cap. 51.; Lib. 3, Cap. 2, 93, 94.; various papers in the *Documentos Inéditos*.

⁵ Navarrete, *Coleccion de los Viages*, etc., II. 327-333; Herrera, Dec. 1., Lib. 7., Cap. 8.

⁶ Herrera, Dec. 1., Lib. 6., Cap. 16.

⁷ *Col. de Doc. Inéd.*, first series, XXXI. 513-518.

rived, soon followed by some dozen others, and settled down in Santo Domingo, devoting themselves to the welfare of the neglected natives.

According to the Dominican accounts, the friars attempted really to teach religion to the natives, and they responded by flocking to hear them by the thousand on holidays and feasts. After about a year, the friars decided that it was their duty to protest against the treatment of the hapless natives. Long discussion and prayer resulted in the drafting of a sermon which Córdoba commissioned a brilliant young preacher, Antón Montesino, to deliver. This the latter did on the fourth Sunday in Advent, 1511, before a congregation that included all the notable figures of the island. In fiery terms he plainly denounced Spanish wickedness, and assured his hearers that they had no more chance of salvation than so many Turks.

The island was thrown into a fury. That afternoon the officials called in a body on the admiral viceroy, and the whole group demanded of the friars that they either reverse their position or leave the colony. Next Sunday, before a greater audience than ever, Montesino mounted the pulpit and thundered forth a denunciation beside which his earlier effort faded into insignificance. The Dominicans, ran his theme, had as soon confess and absolve highway robbers as the Spaniards, and the latter might write home what they pleased to whom they pleased, for all the effect it would have on the friars's actions.

The court was soon bombarded with letters against priests who damned loyal subjects for using Indians in the mines as the king had ordered, thus endangering the royal revenues. Spurred on by high officials, among them Lope de Conchillos the royal secretary, and Fonseca, the king commanded the Dominican provincial of Castile to muzzle his friars, or have it done for him. More effective yet was the sending of Alonso de Espinal to Spain as the colony's representative. Espinal was the superior of the Franciscans in Hispaniola, whose

chief monastery was supported by an *encomienda*, according to Las Casas. The Dominicans, after much trouble in gathering together provisions for his passage, sent Montesino on another ship to answer for their order.

Espinal was received with great favor, having the support of the high officials, and had the *entrée* of the court at all times. Montesino found every avenue to the king closed, the ushers refusing him admission. Finally, when the door was opened one day for some one else to leave, he rushed into the royal presence and read a long and impassioned memorial on the cruelties and sufferings that the Indians underwent. Ferdinand was astounded and much affected, and soon agreed with Montesino that some remedy should be applied.

There had been little change in the system up to this time. Ferdinand summoned a council of doctors of law and theology to meet at Burgos, there to draw up a basis for regulating the relations between the whites and the Indians. Whatever the members' intentions may have been, they were dominated by the interested officials, headed by Fonseca,⁸ with no one on the opposite side save a few humble friars. The result was farcical, from any viewpoint other than that of the aborigines. The kingly conscience was soothed by the citations from Aristotle, Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Saint Anthony of Florence, and others, to the effect that though the Indians were free, idleness was an injury to them, and the king should relieve them of its burdens out of kindness.

The council was now assembled, and with the above conclusions as a base, formulated regulations intended to correct the worst abuses of the *encomienda* system. With circumstances as they were, the rules were perhaps not without merit, but of course failed utterly to remedy the fundamental

⁸ These officials were concerned not only for his majesty's treasury, but also for their own perquisites, since all the great personages at court held *encomiendas*. Oviedo remarks (*Historia General*, Lib. 3., Cap. 6) that Indians held by officials were worse off than others, since "*aunque mal hiciesen, no los osaban enojar*".

difficulties. They were, however, promulgated at Burgos on December 27, 1512.⁹

Meanwhile Pedro de Córdoba reached Spain, to meet the charges against him resulting from Montesino's sermons. On hearing his protests against the nature of the new laws, Ferdinand offered to allow him to revise them, but Córdoba, perhaps believing his acquaintance with American conditions too brief, shrank from the responsibility. The king, therefore, formed another junta for the task, which proposed five new regulations, four of which were duly proclaimed at Valladolid on July 28, 1513, as the "Clarification of the Ordinances" already made.¹⁰

Herrera summarizes these important decrees very briefly, and even Las Casas only makes the general nature of the first group while in discussing its defects, although he gives verbatim the report of the junta which drew up the second. Both texts are here presented for the first time in print, so far as the present writer can learn.

It will be noted that in this version they apply to Puerto Rico instead of Hispaniola, and that the first one is dated at Valladolid nearly a month after issue of the original laws for Santo Domingo at Burgos. The differences undoubtedly explain each other, for certainly no variant code was formulated for the second and newly colonized island during the interval. Moreover, the occasional confusion between Puerto Rico and Hispaniola in the language indicates a slip on the part of a scribe evidently copying from a law drawn for the latter island, and adapting names as he proceeded, to apply it to the former. The probability of this becomes clearer on studying the archival copy, which appears in the great book of rather carelessly made transcripts kept for office use. It shows a pronounced break in the writing, where the wearied copyist either rested before continuing, or was relieved entirely by another clerk. Either occurrence would make prob-

⁹ Las Casas, Lib. 3., Caps. 3-16; Herrera, Dec. 1., Lib. 9., Cap. 14.

¹⁰ Las Casas, Lib. 3., Caps. 17, 18.

able just such a confusion in names, if and only if the adaptation suggested above is correct.¹¹ The text of the original manuscript here presented was made from a photostat copy belonging to the writer. It has been followed faithfully except that certain abbreviations which could not be imitated in the types have been expanded; but wherever possible all abbreviations have been retained.

ROLAND D. HUSSEY.

University of California at Los Angeles.

THE ORDINANCES

Las hordenanças p^a el tratam^o de los yndios.¹²

Don Fernando et^a por quanto yo e la Serenissima Reyna doña yssavel mi muy cara e muy amada muger q̃ Santa gloria aya, siempre tovimos mucha voluntad q̃ los Caçiques e yndios de la ysla de San Juan veniessen en conocim^o de n^{ra} Sancta Fe catolica y p^a ello mandamos facer e se hisyeron alg^{as} hordenanças asy por nos como por n^{ro} m^o el comendador vovadilla y el comendador mayor de alcantara¹³ gobernadores q̃ fueron de la ysla de San Juan. E despues don diego colon n^{ro} almi^c visso Rey e governador de la ysla española e delas otras yslas q̃ fueron descubiertas por el almi^c su padre e por su yndustria e n^{ros} ofic^{es} q̃ resyden en la dha ysla e segun se a visto por luenga espiriencia q̃ todo no vasta p^a su conversyon por que de su natural son ynclinados a ociosidad e muchos vicios y no aver ninguna manera de visitar ni doctrina y el prencipal daño [*illegible*] q̃ tienen p^a no se hemendar de sus biçios y q̃ la doctrina no les ap^{ueche} ni en ellos ynprima ni lo tomen [*illegible*] tener sus ayentos y estancias tan lexos como las tyenen [*illegible*] os todos de sus lugares donde viben los españoles q̃ de aca an ydo y van a poblar a la dha ysla por que puesto q̃ al tyenpo q̃ los vienen a servir los doctrinen y enseñan las cossas de

¹¹ Note in this connection the sentence at the end of the first document, meaningless unless the paper it was copied from applied to other than Puerto Rico.

¹² *Archivo General de Indias*, 139-1-15, Lib. IV., ff. 83-96 vuelto.

¹³ *E.g.*; Nicolas de Ovando, governor from 1502-1509, who is commonly blamed for establishing the final form of the encomienda. He and Bobadilla were governors of the still uncolonized San Juan de Puerto Rico only in the sense that as governors of Hispaniola they ruled the whole of the Indies. This is merely one of the indications that the laws here presented were originally written for Hispaniola, and names changed in making this version.

nña Fe como despues de aver seruido se bueluen a sus estancias con estar apartados y la mala ynclinacion que tyenen oluidan luego todo lo q̄ les an enseñado y tornan a su acostumbrada veiosidad y vicios y quando otra vez se bueluen a servir estan tan nuevos en la dotrina como de primero por que avnq̄ el español q̄ va con ellos a sus asyentos conforme a lo q̄ esta hordenado se lo trae a la memoria y lo r̄phende como no le tyenen amor no le aprouecha y responden q̄ los dexen holgar pues para aquello van a sus estancias y todo su fin y desseo es tener libertad p^a facer de sy lo q̄ les viene a la voluntad syn aver respeto a ninguna cossa de virtud y viendo que esto es tan contrario a nña fee y quanto somos obligados a q̄ por todas las vias y maneras del mundo qu seer pueda se busque algun rem^o pla tycado por nos con algunos de los de nño q^o e psonas de buena vida letras e conciencia e auida conformacion de otros que tenya mucha notyçia e espiriencia de las cossas de la dha ysla y de la vida y maña de los dhos yndios parecio q̄ lo mas puechosso q̄ de p^resente se podria p^oueher seria mandar mudar las estancias de los Caciques e yndios cerca de los lugares e pueblos de los españoles por muchas conssideraciones y asy por que con la conbersacion contynua q̄ con ellos ternan como con yr a las yglesias los dias de las fiestas a oyr y cumplir en los of^{os} divinos y veer como los españoles lo facen y con aparejo q̄ avra yendo juntos conmigo para les mostrar e yndustriar en las cossas de nña santa fe esta claro q̄ mas presto ap^rndrá y despues de ap^rnder no la oluidaron co[illegible] y sy algun yndio adoleciere sera brevemente socorrido y curado y se dara vida con ayuda de nño Señor a muchos [illegible] por no saver dellos y por no [several words illegible] se les escussara el trabajo de las ydas y venidas q̄ como son lexs sus estancias de los pueblos de los españoles les sera harto alivio y no moriran los que mueren en los caminos asy por enfermedades como por falta de mantenimientos y los tales no pueden rescibir los Sacram^{os} q̄ como xpianos son obligados y segun se les daria adoleciendo en los dhos pueblos y los niños q̄ nacieren seran luego vahutizados y todos servirán con menos trabajo y a mas p^ouecho de los españoles por estar mas contyno en sus casas y los visytadores q̄ touieren cargo dellos visitandolos an mejor y mas amenudo y les haran prouehar de todo lo q̄ les falta e no daran lugar q̄ les tomen sus mugeres e hijos como lo hazen estando en los dhos sus asyentos apartados y cesaran otros muchos males e daños q̄ a los dhos yndios se les facen por estar tan apartados q̄ porq̄ alla son

notorios aqui no se dizen y se les seguira otros muchos prouehos asy p^a la saluacion de sus animas como para el p^ouecho e vtylidad de sus personas y conservacion de sus vidas por las quales cabsas e por otras muchas q̃ a este p^oposyto se podrian decir fue acordado q̃ p^a el bien y rem^o de todo lo suso dho sean luego traydos los dhos Caciques cerca de los pueblos delos dhos españoles q̃ ay en la dha ysla y p^a q̃ alli sean tratados e yndustriados e mirados como es rason y sienp^e lo deseamos m^o q̃ de aq̃ ad^e se guarde e cumpla lo q̃ ad^e sera.

I. pmamente fordenamos e mandamos q̃ por quanto es n^{ra} determinacion de mudar los dhos yndios y facerles estancias con las de los españoles q̃ ante todas cossas las personas a q̃en estan encomendados o se encomendaren los dhos yndios p^a cada cinq^{ta} yndios fagan luego quatro bohios cada vno de XXX pies de largo e quinze de ancho e V U montones los tres mill de yuca y los dos mill de ajes. E dosyentos e cinq^{ta} pies de axi e cinq^{ta} pies de algodón y asy por este respeto creciendo y menguando segun la cautydad de los yndios q̃ toviere encomendados e que lo suso dho se ponga canelas labranças de los mismos v^o s^a quien esta encomendados o se encomendaren los dhos yndios y en buen lugar e cassa e a visitado vos el dho n^{ro} almi^e e de los visitadores q̃ toviere cargo dello o de la persona q̃ vos el dho n^{ro} almirante juezes e of^{es} [*illegible*] p^a lo suso dho el q^{al} vos encargo e m^o que sea tal q̃ lo sepa muy bien hazer y q̃ a su cargo la persona q̃ los dhos yndios toviere a cargo les haga senbrar m^a han^a de mahiz¹⁴ e q̃ a cada vno de los dhos se les de vna dozena de gallinas e vn gallo para q̃ los crien e gozen del fruto asy de los pollos como de los huevos y q̃ en trayendos los dhos yndios a las estancias se les entregue todo lo suso dho como cossa suya p^opia e digales la persona q̃ p^a lo suso dho enbiardes q̃ es p^a ellos mismos y q̃ se les da en logar de aq̃llo q̃ dexan en sus cassas p^a q̃ gozen dello como de cossa suya p^opia e mad^{os} questa su encomienda no se les puede ender ni quitar por persona alguna de las a q̃en fue encomendados ni por otra persona alguna syno q̃ q̃den con los dhos yndios a q̃en se señalaren e con las q̃ dellos benieren avnq̃ la tal persona venda la estancia en q̃ estouieren coleq̃ra los yndios e de las faziendas q̃ dexaren los dhos yndios quando ya sean traydos a las estancias de los v^{os} declaramos y mandamos q̃ las tales personas a q̃en se encomendaren los dhos yndios puedan gozar e gozen cada vno conforme a los yndios q̃ truxiere p^a dello los mantenga e despues q̃

¹⁴ A fanega is about 1.6 bushels.

las tales personas ayan traydo el fruto dello vos mando q̃ hagays q̃ mñe los bohios de las dhas estancias pues dellos no se a de aver mas p^ouecho por q̃ los yndios no tengan cabssa de boluerse alli donde los truxieron

II. Y fho lo suso dho ordenamos y mandamos q̃ todos los Caciques e yndios q̃ agora ay e oui^e de aq̃ ad^e en la dha ysla de San Juan se traygan de las estancias q̃ ellos tenian fechas donde estan o estouieren los pueblos de los v^{os} q̃ agora ay e oui^e de aq̃ adelante en la dha ysla e por q̃ sean traydos muy a su voluntad e no resciban pena en la mudança por la p^e mad^s a don diego colon n^{ro} almi^e vissoRey e governador de la ysla española e de las otras yslas q̃ fueron descubiertas por el almi^e su padre e por su yndustria e a los n^{ros} juezes e of^{es} de la dha ysla de San Ju^o q̃ los trayran segun e como e de la forma e manera q̃ a ellos les pareciere con menos pena y daño de los dhos Caçiques e yndios se pueda facer animandolos e trayendolos con alagos p^a ello a los q^{les} encargamos y mandamos qua encarecidamente podemos q̃ lo fagan con mucho cuydado fydelidad e diligencia teniendo mas fin al buen tratamy^o e conservacion de los dhos yndios q̃ a otro ningun respecto ni ynteresse partycular ninguno.

III. asy mismo hordenamos y mad^s q̃l v^o a q̃en se encomendare los dhos yndios sea obligado de les tener fecha vna casa p^a yglesia juntamente con la dha hazienda q̃ asy se les señalare en la parte q̃ a vos el dho almi^e juezes e of^{es} parecieren q̃ es mas conveniente en la qual dha yglesia ponga ymagenes de n^{ra} S^a y vna campanilla p^a los llamar a resar y la persona q̃ los toui^e encomendados sea obligado a los hazer llamar en anocheciendo con la campana e yr con ellos a la dha yglesia e hazerles sentar e santiguen y todos juntos decir el ave m^a y pater noster credo y salue regina de manera q̃ todos ellos oygan a la dha persona y la tal persona consigo a ellos por q̃ sepa quien acierta o quien yerra p^a q̃ al q̃ herrare le hemiende y porq̃ el tpo q̃ les mandamos dar para holgar antes q̃ anochezca es principalmente porq̃ estando cansados a la ora q̃ los llamare p^a resar a las noches sy alg^o de los yndios dexare de venir a la dha yglesia en el dho tpo mandamos quel dia siguiente no les dexen folgar el dho tpo y todavia seran apremiados a yr a resar la noche syguiente e asy mismo mandamos que cada mañana antes q̃ bayan a la lavor les agan yr a la dha yglesia a resar como lo azen a las tardes no asyendoles madrugar por esto mas de lo q̃ se acostunbra ques en syendo el dia claro.

IV. yten porq̃ se sepa como ap^ouecha cada vno en las cossas de la fe mandamos q̃ de qnze a qnze dias les tomen quenta la tal persona q̃ tyene cargo de lo q̃ supieren cada vno por sy partycularmente e les muestre lo que no supieren e q̃ asy mismo les enseñe los diez mandami^{os} e syete pecados mortales y los artyculos de la fe a los q̃ a la tal persona pareciere q̃ tengan capaçidad e avilidad para los ap^onder por esto sea con mucho amor e dulçura e la tal persona q̃ asy no lo cumplieri encurra en seys pesos de oro de pena los dos para la n^{ra} Camara e los otros dos para el q̃ los acussare e los otros dos para el juez q̃ lo senteciare y executare la q^{al} dha pena mando q̃ executen luego en las personas q̃ en ella yncurryeren.

V. otro sy porque a my es fha relacion quen las estancias los espa^oñoles e yndios que en ellas resyden estan mucho tpo syn oyr misa y es rason q̃ la oygan a lo menos las pascuas¹⁵ e domingos y fiestas y en cada estancia no podra aver clerigos para desyr misa hordenamos y mandamos que donde ouviere quatro o cinco estancias o mas o menos en termino de una legoa quen las estancias q̃ mas en comarca estovieren de todas las otras se haga vna yglesia en la q^{al} y [illegible] se pongan ymagenes de nra Señora y cruces y vn esquilon para que alli bengan todos los domingos pascuas e fiestas de goardar a rezar e oyr missa e asy mismo a recibir algunas buenas amonestaciones q̃ los clerigos q̃ le dixeren misa les diran y el clerigo q̃ dixere la misa les enseñe los mandami^{os} y artyculos de la fee y las otras cosas de la dotrina xpiana y asy para q̃ sean yndustriados y enseñados en las cossas de la fee. e tomen vso de resar e oyr misa e para q̃. asy lo hagan mandamos q̃ los espa^oñoles q̃ estubieren en las estancias con los dhos yndios e touiere cargo dllos sean obligados de los llevar todos juntos luego por la ma^oñana a la yglesia los dias suso dhos y estar con ellos fasta ser dha la missa y despues de oyda la dha missa los tornen a las estancias e les hagan tener sus ollas de carne guissadas por manera q̃ aql dia comen mejor que otro ninguno de la semana e avnq̃ algun dia falte q̃ no aya clerigo q̃ les diga misa q̃ no [illegible]¹⁶ esto todavia los lleven a la yglesia p^a q̃ rezen e hagan oracio e tomen buen conse^o p^o sy las otras estancias estovieren en [illegible] donde buenamente se puedan yr a oyr la dha misa q̃ en ellas oui^e q̃ los tales v^{os} sean obligados de los llevar alla so pena q̃ qualq̃er persona q̃ toui^e cargo de los

¹⁵ E.g., the great church holidays, Easter, Twelfth Night, Pentecost, and Christmas.

dhos yndios e los dexare de llevar aya en pena de dies pesos de oro los seis pesos como se qontiene en el Capº antes deste y los quatº sean los dos para la obra de la dha yglesia y los dos para el clerigo q̃ los enseñare.

VII. yten por q̃ n̄a voluntad es q̃ a los dhos yndios se les busq̃ todos los mejores medios q̃ ser puedan para ynclinarlos a las cossas de n̄a santa fe catolica e sy ouiesen de yr mas lexos de vna legoa a missa los domingos e fiestas sentyrlo tan por grave hordenamos e mandamos q̃ sy fuera de la suso dha legoa donde mandamos facer la dha iglesia ouie otras estancias avnq̃ sean en vn mismo sitio donde las otras estouieren q̃ se haga vna iglesia de la manera suso dha.

VII. otrosy hordenamos encargamos e mandamos a los prelados e clerigos q̃ de aq̃ adelante llebaren los diesmos de las tales estancias donde estouieren los dhos yndios q̃dn contyno clerigos para q̃ en las dhas iglesias de las tales estancias digan misas los domingos pascuas e fiestas de guardar e q̃ asy mismo los tales clerigos tengan cargo de confessar a algunos q̃ avra q̃ se sepan confesar e amuestran a los q̃ no lo supiere hazer e asy n̄o señor sera muy seruido y de lo contrario hase ydo y sera deseruido.

VIII. otrosy hordenamos y mandamos q̃ en las minas donde ouiere copia de gente se haga vna yglesia en logar conveniente qual a vos el dho almiº e juezes e ofºs o a la persona q̃ por vosotºs fuere señalada preciere de manera q̃ todos los yndios quando uieren en las dhas minas puedan alcançar oyr misa las dhas fyestas e mandamos q̃ todos los pobladores e vºs q̃ truxieren los dhos yndios a sacar oro sean obligados a tomar con ellos la misma horden q̃ mandamos q̃ se tenga con los q̃ andouieren en las estancias como arryba se qº so las mismas penas de suso qas las quales aplicamos como arryba se qº.

IX. otrosy fordenamos y mandamos que cada uno q̃ touie cinquenta yndios o dende arryba encomendados sean obligados de hazer mostrar vn mochacho el que mas abil dellos le pareciere a ler y a escreuir de las cosas de n̄a fee pª que aquel los muestren despues a los dhos yndios por que mejor tomaran lo que aquel les dixere q̃ no lo q̃ le dixeran los otros vºs e pobladores e q̃ sy la tal persona touiere yndios no lo hisyere mostrar como dho es mandamos quel visytador quen n̄o nombre touiere cargo dello los aga mostrar a su costa e por q̃ yo e la serenissima Reyna mi muy cara e muy amada hija emos sydo ynformados que algunas personas se siruen de algunos mochachos yndios de

pajes hordenamos e mandamos q̄ la tal persona que se sirviere de yndio por paje sea obligado de le mostrar ler y escreuir e todas las otras cosas que de suso estan declarados e syno lo hisyere se lo quiten e den a otro por q̄l principal deseo mio e de la serenissima Reyna mi muy cara e muy amada hija es quen las dhas ptes y en cada vna dellas se plante e arraygue n̄ra santa fee catholica muy enteramente por q̄ las animas de los dhos yndios se saluen.

X. otrosy fordenamos y mandamos q̄ cada e quando algun yndio adoleciere en parte donde buenamente se pueda aver clerigo q̄ sea obligado de le yr a decir el credo y otras cossas de n̄ra santa fe catholica p^{ue}chossas e sy el tal yndio se supiere confesar lo confiesse syn por ello llevar ynterese alguno y porq̄ ay algunos yndios q̄ entyenden las cossas de n̄ra santa fe mandamos que los tales clerigos sean obligados de les hazer confesar vna vez en el año e q̄ asy mismo vayan con+ por los yndios q̄ moriere y enterrarlos sy q̄ por ello ni por las dhas confesyones les lleven cossa alguna e sy los dhos yndios morieren en las estancias mandamos q̄ los entyerren los xpianos pobladores q̄ alli estouieren en la iglesia de la tal estancia donde asy estouieren e sy morieren en otras partes donde no ay iglesia q̄ todavia los entyerren donde mejor les pareciere por manera q̄ ninguno q̄de por enterrar so pena q̄l q̄ no lo enterrare o hiziere enterrar syendo a su cargo pague quat^o pesos de oro los quales apliqn y repartan en esta manera el vno a n̄ra Camara el ot^o al q̄ lo denunciare y el otro al juez q̄ lo senteciere y el otro pa el clerigo q̄ tyene cargo de la estancia o logar donde se enterraren.

XI. otrosy fordenamos y mandamos q̄ ninguna persona q̄ tenga yndios en encomienda ni otra persona alg^a facer carga a cuestras a los yndios p^a los yndios q̄ andouieren en las minas e quando se mudaren de vn lugar a otro questos tales puedan llevar e lleven su ato e mantenimi^os a cuestras por q̄ hemos sydo ynformados q̄ alli no se pueden tener vestias ni q̄ se lleven lo q^{al} se guarde e cunpla ansy so pena q̄ la persona q̄ hechara carga al tal yndio contra el tenor e forma deste mi Capitulo pague por cada vez dos pesos de oro lo qual sea para el ospital del lugar donde fuere v^o el tal morador e sy la carga q̄ asy hyciere al tal yndio fuere de mantenimi^os tambien lo aya pdido y sea p^a el dho ospital.

XII. otrosy hord^s e mandamos q̄ todos los v^{os} e pobladores q̄ tyenen yndios en encomienda sean obligados de facer vahutizar todos los

niños q̃ nacieren dentº de ocho dias despues q̃ asy ouieren naçido o antes si la tal criatura touiº neçesidad de ser vautizado sy no ouie clerigo q̃ lo haga sera obligado el q̃ tyene cargo de la tal estancia de los vahutizar conforme a lo q̃ en semejantes neçessidades se suelen hazer so pena q̃ el q̃ asy no lo cunpliere yneurra por cada vez en tres pºs de oro los quales mandamos q̃ sean pª la iglesia donde la tal criatura se vahutyzare.

XIII. otrosy hordenamos e mandamos q̃ todas las fundiciones q̃ de aq̃ adº se hizieren en la dha ysla despues q̃ los dhos yndios se ayan traydo de las dhas estancias sean de la manera q̃ de yuso sera declarado y es q̃ cojan oro con los yndios q̃ las tales personas touieren encomendados cinco messes del año e q̃ conplidos estos cinco messes huelguen los dhos yndios quarenta dias e q̃l dia q̃ ouieren de dexar la labor de cojer el oro al cavo de los cinco messes se les asyne en la cedula q̃ se diere a los mineros pª yr a las minas e q̃ en el mismo dia q̃ ansy llevare señalado se suelten de la labor todos los yndios del partydo donde aq̃lla fundicion se ouiere de facer de manera q̃ todos los yndios de cada partydo se vayan en vn mismo dia a folgar a sus cassas los dhos XL dias e q̃ en todos los dhos quarenta dias ninguna pueda voluer a cojer oro con ningun yndio sy no fuere esclauo so pena q̃ por cada yndio q̃ no fuere esclauo q̃ qualqºr psona truxiere en las minas dentº del termino de los dhos XL dias en la dha cedula qºs pague mº pesos de oro aplicado en la forma suso dha y mandamos q̃ en estos dhos quarenta dias vos los dhos ofºs seays obligados de facer las fundiciones e mandamos q̃ a los tales yndios q̃ ansy salieren de las minas no se les pueda mandar ni mande durante los dhos quarenta dias cossa alguna saluo llevar los montones q̃ touieren en este tpo e que las tales psonas q̃ touieren en encomienda los dhos yndios sean obligados en estos quarenta dias q̃ ansy huelgan de los dotrinar en las cossas de nªra fe mas q̃ en los otºs despues ternan lugar pª ello.

XIV. otrosy porq̃ avemos sydo ynformºs q̃ sy se quitan a los dhos yndios sus areytos e se les ynpidese q̃ no los hisyesen como suelen se les haria muy de mal hordenamos y mandamos q̃ no se les ponga ni consienta poner ningun ynpedimiº en el fazer los dhos areytos los domingos e fyestas como lo tienen por costº e ansy mismo los dias de labor no dexando por ello de travajar lo acostunbrado.

XV. otrosy por q̃ en el mantener de los yndios esta la mayor parte de su buen tratamiº e avmentacion hordenamos e mandamos q̃ todas

las psonas q̄ touieren yndios sean obligados de los q̄ estouieren en las estancias e tener contyno en ella pan e ajas e aji abasto e q̄ a lo menos los domingos pascoas e fyestas les den sus ollas de carne guissadas como esta m^{do} en el cap^o que havla q̄ los dias de fyestas q̄ fueran a misa coman mejor q̄ los otros dias e q̄ los dias q̄ ouiere de tener carne a las dhas estancias se lo den al respeto q̄ se manda tener a los q̄ andan en las minas e q̄ a los yndios q̄ andouieren en las minas les den pan e axi e todo lo que ouieren menester e les den vna libra de carne cada dia e q̄ el dia q̄ no fueren de carne les den pescado o sardinas o otras cosas con q̄ sean mantenidos e los que estouieren en las estancias los dexen venyr a los bohios a comer so pena q̄ la tal persona q̄ toui^e los dhos yndios e no cunpliere todo lo suso dho en este cap^o q^o caya e yncurra por cada vez q̄ no lo cunpliere en pena de dos p^{os} de oro los quales se reparta para n^{ra} Camara e p^a el acusador e juez q̄ lo sentenciare como de suso esta declarado.

XVI. ansymismo hordenamos y mandamos q̄ en las otras cossas q̄ se an de mostrar de n^{ra} fe a los yndios les hagan entender como no deven tener mas de vna muger ni dexar aq̄lla e q̄ las tales personas q̄ les touieren en encomienda e vieren q̄ alg^o dellos no entienden esto como se deve entender o vieren q̄ ay en el distracion e avilidad p^a ser cassado e gobernar su cassa p^ocurren q̄ se casen a ley e a vendicion como lo manda la santa madre yglesia con la muger q̄ mejor les estoui^e especialmente a los Caciques q̄ les declaren q̄ las mugeres q̄ tomaren no an de ser sus parientes y q̄ los visytadores tengan cargo de p^ocurar como esto se les de bien a entender e se lo [*several words illegible*] e q̄l mismo lo diga a todos los q̄ le entendieren y q̄ le diga y le haga decir todas las raçones que ay p^a q̄ ansy lo hagan e q̄ [*several words badly blotted. Probably: si lo hacen no se*] saluaren sus animas.

XVII. otrosy hordenamos y mandamos q̄ todos los hijos de los Caciques q̄ ay en la dha ysla e oui^e de aq̄ ad^e de hedad de treze a^{os} abajo se den a los frayles de la horden de san Fran^{co} como por por vna mi c^a lo tengo m^{do} p^a q̄ los dhos frayles les muestren leer y escriuir y todas las otras cosas de n^{ra} santa fee los q̄les los tengan quatro años mostrando e despues los bueluan a las personas q̄ se los dieron e los tenian encomendados p^a que los tales hijos de Caciques muestren a los dhos yndios por q̄ muy mejor lo tomaran dellos e sy el tal Cacique toui^e dos hijos de el vno a los dhos frayles e el otro sea el q̄ mandamos q̄ haga mostrar a los q̄ toviere yndios.

XVIII. otrosy hordenamos y mandamos q̃ ninguna muger preñada despues q̃ passare de quatro meses no la enbien a las minas ny facer montones syno q̃ las tales personas q̃ las tyenen en encomienda las tengan en las estancias e se syrvan dellas en las cossas de por casa q̃ son de poco trabajo asy como facer pan e guissar de comer e [*illegible*] e despues q̃ parieren crien su hijo hasta q̃ sea de tres a's syn q̃ en todo este tpo le manden yr a las minas ni facer montones ni otra cosa en q̃ lo tratar e resciba perjuycio so pena q̃ las personas q̃ touieren yndios de repartimi° e ansy no lo qunpliere por la primera bez yncurra en seys pesos de oro de pena los quales se repartan como de suso se q̃ e por la segunda bez le sea quitada la muger e a su criado e pague los dhos seys pesos de oro e por la tercera le sean quitados muger e marido e seys yndios de los quales nos podran mas hacer md como de cosa vaca a quien n̄ra md e voluntad fuere.

XIX. otrosy hordenamos y mandamos q̃ todos los que tienen o touieren de aqui adelante en la dha ysla yndios de Repartimi° sean obligados a darles a cada vno de los q̃ ansy touieren vna amaca en que duerman continuamente e que no los consyentan dormir en el suelo como asta aqui se a fho la qual dha amaca seran obligados a les dar dentro de doze meses primeros syguientes despues q̃ tengan los dhos yndios señalados por repartymi° e mandamos q̃ los n̄ros visytadores tengan mucho quydado de mirar como se dan e tyene cada yndio la dha amaca e ap̄miar a la tal persona q̃ los touiere en suyo q̃ si no se vuyere dado se la de dentro de los dhos doze meses primeros syguientes la qual mandamos a vos el dho almi° e juezes que executeys en quien en ella cayere y porque en dando alguna cosa algun yndio luego p̄cura de trocar por otra mandamos q̃ los tales yndios sean amonestados por los visytadores a q̃ no truequen las dhas amacas por otras cosas e sy las trocaren mandamos a los dhos visytadores que castiguen a los dhos yndios ca sy las trocaren e tornen a deshazer el troque que dellas ouieren hecho.

XX. otrosy fordenamos e mandamos que porque de aqui adelante los dhos yndios tengan con mejor se bestir e hataviar que den a cada vno dellos por la p̄sente q̃ los touiere en Repartimi° vn peso de oro por cada año el qual esta obligado de ser los dar en cosas de vestir e a vista e consentimi° del n̄ro visytador el qual dho peso de oro se entyenda demas de la dha hamaca q̃ de suso mandamos q̃ se de a cada vno y por q̃ los dichos Caciques e sus mugeres es razon q̃ anden mejor

trabitados e vestydos q̃ los [*illegible*] yndios mandamos q̃ deste peso de oro q̃ se a de dar a cada vno de los suyos se q̃de un Real de cada vno e del dho Real hagan el dho visytador comprar de vestir p^a el tal cacique e su muger de lo qual mandamos a vos el dho almi^e e juezes e of^{es} q̃ tengan mucho cuydado p^a que asy se haga guarde e cumpla.

XXI. otrosy porq̃ mejor se syrva cada vno de los yndios q̃ touiere encomendados e no se syrva nadie de yndios agenos hordenamos y mandamos q̃ persona ni personas algunas no se syruan de ningun yndio ageno ni le resciban en su casa ni estancia ni en minas ny en parte alguna ny se syrva del pero sy algun yndio fuere de camino de vna parte a otra pmitimos q̃ le pueda tener vna noche en su estancia con tanto q̃ luego a la mañana lo enbie de su cassa p^a q̃ vaya a servir a su amo cuyo fuere e q̃ la persona q̃ asy no lo cunpliere caya en pena de pedimi^o de otro yndio de los suyos p^oprios q̃ touiere en Repartimi^o por cada vno q̃ asy toui^e ageno e dar el tal yndio al q̃ lo acusare e tornen a su dueño el yndio q̃ asy se detoui^e e sy la tal persona no toui^e yndios caya en pena por la primera vez de seis castellanos¹⁶ de oro e por la segunda doze e por la tercera le sea la pena tras doblada la qual se reparta por la manera suso dha e sy no toui^e yndios ni dinero le sea conmutada en cient açotes.

XXII. otrosy fordenamos y mandamos q̃ por q̃ los dhos Caciques tengan mejor quien los syrva e haga lo q̃ ellos mandaren p^a cosas de su seruicio q̃ sy los yndios q̃ toviere el tal cacique se ouieren de repartyr en mas de vna persona sy el dho Caciq̃ toui^e quarenta personas le sean dadas dellas dos personas p^a q̃ le syrvan e sy fuere de setenta le den tres e sy fuere de ciento quatro e hasta ciento e cinq^{ta} se le den seis e dende alli adelante avnq̃ mas gente tenga no se le de mas los quales dhos yndios q̃ ansy le an de servir sean quales el dho cacique q̃syere tomar con q̃ sean trocados onbre y muger e hijo y q̃ estas personas q̃ se le dan vayan con la persona q̃ mas parte tubiere encomendada en el dho Cacique e que sean muy bien trabitados no les mandan el travajar saluo en cossas ligeras con q̃ ellos se ocupen porq̃ no tengan veiosidad por evitar los ynconvenientes q̃ de la veiosidad podria subceder e mandamos a los visytadores q̃ tengan cargo de mirar por

¹⁶ The castellano, or peso of Castile, weighed 490 maravedis, whereas the gold peso ordinarily used in Spanish America in later years weighed but 450. It is by no means certain, however, that there was any intended distinction in the varying use in so early a document as this, since the money and weights of Castile would naturally apply to the Indies, the possession of the Crown of Castile.

los dhos caciques e yndios e q̃ les den muy bien de comer e q̃ les muestren las cosas de ñra Santa Fee mejor a q̃ los otros por questos tales podran dotrinar a los otros yndios e lo tomaran dellos muy mejor.

XXIII. otrosy fordenamos y mandamos q̃ todas las personas q̃ touieren yndios en encomienda asy de los de la dha ysla española como de los q̃ de las yslas comarcanas se truxiere sean obligados a tener quenta a los visytadores de los q̃ se les moriere e de los que nacieren dentro de dies dias e mandamos q̃ los dhos visytadores sean obligados de tener e tengan vn libro en q̃ tengan quenta e rason con cada persona q̃ touiẽ yndios de Repartimi^o y declara en el q̃ yndios tyene cada vno e como se llaman por sus nombres p^a q̃ los nacidos se asyenten y los muertos se quiten porq̃ contyno el visytador tenga Relacion ent^a sy crecen o disminuyen los dhos yndios so pena de dos p^{os} de oro a cada vno de los dhos pobladores q̃ asy no lo hiziere por cada vez q̃ ansy no lo cunpliere la qual dha pena se reparta para la Camara e Acusador e Juez q̃ lo senteciẽ e executare y los visytadores sean obligados de traher a cada fundicion e dar a ñros of^{es} q̃ en ella resydiere rason de todo lo suso dho p^a q̃ ellos sepan los yndios q̃ ouiⁿ crecido o menguado entre vna fundicion y otra y nos lo hagan saver quando nos enbiaren el oro q̃ en la tal fundicion nos cupiere.

XXIV. otrosy fordenamos q̃ persona ni personas alg^{as} no sean osados de dar palo ni açote ni llamen perro ni otro no^e a ningun yndio syno el suyo p^opio q̃ touiẽ y q̃ sy el yndio mereciẽ ser castigado la tal persona q̃ a cargo los tuviere los lleve a los visytadores q̃ los castigue so pena q̃ la persona q̃ contra lo suso dho pasare pague cinco p^{os} de oro la qual dha pena se reparta en la manera suso dha.

XXV. otrosy porq̃ nos avemos seydo ynformados q̃ muchas personas de los q̃ tienen yndios en encomienda los ocupan en facer sementeras e granjerias de q̃ nos somos deseruidos fordenamos y mandamos q̃ cada vno q̃ touiere yndios en encomienda sea obligado de traher la tercia parte dello a las minas cojiendo oro o mas de las tercia parte sy q̃syere so pena q̃ sy no lo cunpliere yncurra en tres pesos de oro por cada yndio q̃ faltare de la dha tercia pte p^o pmitanos q̃ los v^{os} de la cavana e villa nueva de yaqmo no sean obligados de traher yndios en las minas porq̃stan muy lexos dellas p^o mandamos q̃ con los dhos yndios fagan hamacas e camissas de algodõ e crien puerco e entyendan en otras granjerias q̃ sean p^ouechossas p^a la comunidad porque algunos de los yndios he savido q̃ mudandose a las

estancias de los pobladores sera menester ocupallos luego en hazer los bohios e otras cossas q̃ en sus estancias q̃ les an de señalar avran menester por lo qual no podran dende luego enpeçar a traher la tercia pte dellos en las dhas minas mando a vos el dho almi^c juezes e of^{es} q̃ señaleys p^a lo suso dho el termino q̃ os pareciere q̃ se deve dar el qual señalar e declarar desde luego e sea el mas vreve q̃ ser pueda.

XXVI. otrosy fordenamos e mandamos q̃ los q̃ tovieren yndios e touieren sus fasyendas lexos de las minas e no pudiere p^{ue}her de los mantenimi^{os} necessarios a los dhos yndios q̃estos tales puedan facer compañía a las personas q̃ touieren hazienda en comarca p^a prouher de los mantenimi^{os} a los dhos yndios y q̃l vno ponga los mantenimi^{os} y el otro los yndios con tanto q̃l dueño de los dhos yndios ponga el minero q̃ a de andar con ellos porqueste no consintyra que le falte cossa ning^a de lo q̃ uoiere menester e q̃ lo suso dho no se haga por via de arrendami^o ni por ninguna via q̃ sea so la pena de suso declara.

XXVII. otrosy por q̃ de las yslas comarcanas se an traydo e trahen e cada dia traieran muchos yndios hordenamos y mandamos q̃ a los tales los dotrinen y enseñen las cossas de la fee segund e como e por la forma e manera q̃ tenemos mandado que se den a los otros yndios de la dha ysla ansy mismo les den hamacas a cada vno y de comer por la forma suso dha e mandamos q̃ sean visytados por los dhos Visitadores saluo sy los tales yndios fueren esclauos porq̃ a estos tales a cada vno cuyos fueren los puede traher como el q̃syere pero mandamos que no sea con aquella riguridad y aspereça q̃ suelen tratar a los otros esclauos syno con mucho amor y blandura para mejor ynclinarlos en las cossas de n^{ra} fee.

XXVIII. otrosy fordenamos y mandamos q̃ cada e quando dexare alguna persona los yndios q̃ tovi^c en encomienda por muerte o por otra cabssa alguna por donde los merezca dexan q̃ la persona a quien nos los mandamos dar o encomendar sea obligado de conprar la tal estancia q̃ tenia el q̃ dexo los dhos yndios o de sus herederos la qual se tase por dos psonas sobre juramento q̃ dellos sepan los quales nombrareys vos el dho almirante e juezes e of^{es} y por lo que asy fuere tasado sea obligado el dueño a se la dar y facer buena porq̃ los yndios no se anden mudando sus asientos pues las personas a q̃en se encomendaren an de ser v^{os} del pueblo donde an de ser repartydos los dhos yndios.

XXIX. otrosy fordenamos e mandamos q̃ en cada pueblo de la dha ysla aya dos visytadores q̃ tengan cargo de visytar todo el pueblo y

mineros y estancias y pastores y porq̃ros della e sepa como son los yndios yndustriados en las cossas de ñra Fe e como son trabtados sus personas e como son mantenydos e como guardan e cunplen ellos o los q̃ los tyenen a cargo esta forden antes e todas las otras cossas q̃ cada vno dellos son obligados a guardar de lo qual les mandamos q̃ tengan mucho cuydado e les encargamos las consciencias sobre ello.

XXX. otrosy fordenamos y mandamos q̃ los visytadores suso dhos sean elejidos e nombrados por vos el dho ñro almi^e e juezes e of^{es} por la forma e manera q̃ mejor os pareciere con tanto q̃ los tales elejidos sean de los v^{os} mas antyguos de los pueblos donde an de ser visytadores a los quales mandamos q̃ les sean dados e señalados algunos yndios de Repartimi^o de mas de los q̃ las an de seer dados por el Cargo e trabajo q̃ an de tener en el vso e exercicio de los dhos of^{es} los quales yndios sean los q̃ a vos el dho almi^e e juezes e of^{es} pareciere pero es ñra voluntad q̃ sy los visytadores fueren negligentes en facer guardar las dichas fordenanzas o conocieren q̃ alguno no cunple lo suso dho especialmente en el mantenimi^o e amacas q̃ por ello les sean quitados sus p^oprios yndios q̃ touiere encomendados.

XXXI. otrosy fordenamos e mandamos q̃ los dhos visytadores sean obligados a visytar qualesquier logares donde oui^e yndios de su cargo dos vezes al año la vna vez al principio del año y la otra vez al m^o y mandamos q̃ no pueda vno solo visytar anbas vezes syno q̃ cada vno visyte la suya por q̃ sepa el vno lo q̃ face el ot^o y el ot^o lo q̃ face el otro porq̃ todo se haga con el racabdo e dilig^a q̃ conbiene.

XXXII. otrosy fordenamos y mandamos q̃ todos los dhos visytadores no puedan llevar ni lleven a sus casas ni hasyendas ningun yndio de los q̃ hallaren huydos o perdidos en las estancias o en otras partes syno q̃ luego en hallandolos los deposyten en poder de vna buena persona qual a ellos les pareciere p^o primero p^ocuren de saver su dueño cuyo es e hallandose le de luego e sy no le deposyte como dho es hasta q̃ su dueño parezca so pena quel visytador q̃ parezca q̃ se hallare yndio en su poder por el mismo caso pierda e aya pdido otro yndio de los suyos q̃ touiere el qual sea p^a el q̃ lo acussare e mas sea buelto el tal yndio q̃ asy el dho visitador cojiere al dueño cuyo sea.

XXXIII. otrosy fordenamos y mandamos q̃ los dhos visytadores sean obligados de tener e tengan en su poder vn traslado destas ñras fordenanças fyrm^o del dho almi^e juezes e of^{es} con vna ynstrucion q̃ vos el dho almi^e juezes e of^{es} mandamos q̃ les deys por donde mejor

se sepa lo q̃ an de facer e cunplir e goardar e al visytador q̃ no lo guardare e execute en el las penas de suso declaradas.

XXXIV. otrosy fordenamos y mandamos q̃ vos el dho almi^e juezes of^s enbieys en cada dos años vna vez a saver como los dhos visytadores vssan de sus of^s e les hagan tomar e tomen Resydencia e sepan como han fecho guardar e cunplir estas fordenanças cada vno lo q̃ tocare a su cargo e mandamos q̃ los dhos visytadores sean obligados al tyenpo q̃ se les tomare la dha Resydencia de dar relacion a vos el dho almi^e e juezes e of^s muy cunplida de todos los yndios q̃ oui^e de mom^o cada vno en la parte do el visita e q̃ntos an nascido e muerto en aq̃llos dos años p^a quel almi^e juezes e of^s nos enbien R^{on} de todo ello la qual benga firm^a de vosotros e de los visytadores p^a q̃ yo sea de todo bien ynform^o.

XXXV. otrosy fordenamos y mandamos q̃ ningun v^o ni morador de las dhas villas e lugares de la dha ysla española ni de ninguno dellos pueda tener ni tenga por Repartimi^o por md ni en otra manera mas quantidad de CL yndios ni m^{os} de XL por q̃ vos m^o a todos e a cada vno de vos los dhos almi^e e governador e juezes e of^s q̃ agora soys o fueredes de aquad^e e a otras q^les quier personas a q̃en lo de yuso en estas fordenanças q^o toca e atañe q̃ vsen de las dhas fordenanças q̃ de suso van encorporadas e se haze menciō e las goardades e cunplades e executedes e fagades guardar cunplir y executar en todo e por todo segund q̃ en ellas e en cada vna dellas se q^e y en guardandolas e cunpliendolas executeys e fagays executar las penas en los q̃ en ellas cayeren e yncurrieren e ansy mismo las goardeys e cunplays vosotros segund e de la forma e manera en las dhas fordenanças q^o e mas q̃ cayays e yncurrrays en perdimi^o de los yndios q̃ touierdes por Repartymi^o e q̃den vacos para q̃ nos p^oueamos a quien n^{ra} md e voluntad fuere e contra el tenor e forma dellas no vayades ni passedes ni con-syentades yr ni pasar en tpo alg^o ni por alguna manera e sy p^a lo asy facer e cunplir e executar ouieredes menester favor e ayuda mando a todos los qoncejos et¹⁷ e por que venga a notycia de todos e nynguno pueda pretender ygnorancia mando q̃ esta mi Carta e las fordenanças en ella q^{as} sean apregonadas pu^{ca}mente por las plaças e mercados e

¹⁷ This "etc." is simply a substitute for the stock phrases of the original, specifically commanding obedience and aid from all. The marginal note "asta aqui" a few lines below probably indicated to the copyist that he might omit other such phrases to that point by similarly writing simply "etc."

asta
aquí

otros lugares acostunbrados desa ysla española por p^ogonero e ante
escriu^o pu^{co} e t^{os} e los vnos ni los ot^{os} et^a—dada en la villa de Valla-
dolid a XXIII de hen^o de D XIII yo el Rey por m^o de su alt^a Lope
conchillos s^a del obispo de placencia.¹⁸

Diose otra tal p^a la ysla de San Juan.

DECLARATION THE ORDINANCE

Declaracion de las Ordenanzas sobre Indios.¹⁹

[Valladolid : 28 de Julio 1513]

Doña Juana et^a. A vos el Alcalde e Alguazil mayor de la isla de
S. Juan . . . é a los n^{ros} oficiales . . . justicias . . . consejos et^a. Ya
sabeis como el Rei mi S^{or} é Padre é Yo . . . con acuerdo de Perlados i
personas rel^{as} i de algunos de n^{ro} Cons^o que para ello mandamos juntar
mandamos hacer ciertas ord^{zas} por donde los dhos Indios havian de ser
doctrinados . . . tratados é reducidos a pueblos . . . Despues de lo
qual el dho Rei mi S^{or} P^e e Yo fuimos inform^{os} que aunque las dhas
Ord^{zas} havian sido mui utiles . . . havia neces^d de mandarlas declarar
e moderar . . . mandamos a alg^s Perlados i Relig^s de S^o Dom^o e alg^s
de . . . Nro Cons^o e Predic^{tes} é psonas dotas . . . prudentes e celosos
del serv^o de N^{ro} S^r . . . con acuerdo de los quales . . . é oidos per-
sonas Relig^{as} que tienen noticia de la isla. . . e Indios hicieron la
declar^{on} é moder^{on} de las dhas ord^{zas} en la forma sig^{te}.

1. Primeramente ordenamos i mandamos que las mugeres Indias
casadas con los Indios que estan encomendados por repartimiento no
sean obligados de ir ni venir a servir con sus maridos a las minas ni a
otra parte alguna si no fueren por su voluntad dellas o si sus maridos
las quisieren llevar consigo pero que las tales mugeres sean compeli-
das a travajar en sus propias haziendas i de sus maridos ó en la de los
Españoles dandolas sus jornales que con ellas o con sus maridos se
convinieren salvo si las tales mugeres estuvieren preñadas porque con

¹⁸ *E.g.*, Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, the king's right hand for American affairs
for many years.

¹⁹ Muñoz MSS. (*R. Acad. de la Hist.*, Madrid), LXXV., ff. 289-290. Although
Muñoz plainly modernized the orthography of his transcript to agree with his
standards, it is reproduced here as he copied it, except that his punctuation has
been omitted (since that was certainly not in the original), some abbreviations in
which he was not consistent have been expanded, and missing marginal paragraph
numbers have been inserted within square brackets.

estas tales mandamos que se guarde la ordenanza que sobre esto por nos está hecha so pena que el que lo contrario hiciere demas de la pena que está puesta en la ordenanza pierda la India que así hiciere e trabajar e a su marido i a sus hijos i sean encomendados a otro.

2. Iten . . . que los niños i niñas Indios menores de quatorce años no sean obligados a servir en cosas de trabajo hasta que hayan la dicha edad i dende arriba pero que sean compelidos a hacer i servir en cosas que los niños puedan conportar bien como es en deservar las heredades i cosas semejantes en las haciendas de sus padres los que los tuvieren i los mayores de quatorce años esten debajo del poderio de sus padres hasta que sean de legitima edad i sean casados i los que no tuvieren padres ni madres mandamos que sean encomendados por la persona que por ello tuviere nuestro poder i los encargue a personas de buena conciencia que tengan ciudado de los hacer enseñar i doctrinar en las cosas de nuestra Santa Fee i se aprovechen dellos en sus haciendas en las cosas que por los nuestros Juezes de apelacion que alli tenemos fueren determinados que puedan trabajar sin quebrantamiento de sus personas con tanto que les den de comer i les paguen sus jornales conforme a la tasa que los dichos nuestros Juezes determinaren que deven haver i con que no los enpidan a las horas que avieren de aprender la doctrina christiana i si algunos de los dichos muchachos quisiere aprender oficio lo pueda libremente hacer i estos no sean compelidos a hacer ni trabajar en otra cosa, estando en el dicho oficio.

[3.] otrosi, que las Indias que no fueren casadas las que estan so poderio de sus padres o madres que trabasen con ellos en sus haciendas o en las ajenas conveniendose con sus padres e las que no estuvieren debajo del poderio de sus padres o madres porque no anden vagamundas ni sean malas mugeres e que sean apartados de vicios i sean dotrinadas i constreñidas a estar juntas con las otras e a trabajar en sus haciendas si las tuvieren e si no las tuvieren en las haciendas de los Indios e de los otros pagandolas sus jornales como a las otras personas que trabajan por ellas.

[4.] Iten . . . que dentro de dos años los hombres i las mugeres anden vestidos i por quanto podria acaescer que andando el tiempo con la dotrina i con la conversacion de los cristianos se hagan los Indios tan capaces i tan aparejados a seer Cristianos i sean tan politicos i entendidos que por si sepan regirse i tomen la manera de la vida que alla viven los Cristianos declaramos i mandamos i decimos que es

nuestra voluntad que los que assi se hicieren abiles para poder vivir por si i regirse a vista i a arbitrio de nros Juezes que agora en la dicha isla estan o estuvieren de aqui adelante que les den facultad que vivan por si i les manden servir en aquellas cosas que nuestros vasallos aça suelen servir o las que allá concurrieren semejantes á la calidad de aça paraque sirvan e paguen el servicio que los vasallos suelen dar é pagar a los Principes.

Por que vos mando . . . que veades las dhas Ord^{zas} . . . i con esta dha declar^{on} i moder^{on} las guardedes . . . e fagais egecutar las penas en los que . . . incurrieren . . . pena de perdim^{to} de los bienes muebles i que seais privados paraque no [*illegible*]os puedan encomendar Indios como a personas que no los dotrinan ni enseñan ni los tratan con la caridad que deven ser tratados . . . e . . . perdaís los Indios que tuvierdes encomendados . . . Esta mi carta e ordenanzas . . . sean pregonadas . . . dada en la villa de Valladolid a 28 d^s del mes de Julio de 1513 a^s—Yo el Rei—Yo Lope Conchillos S^{rio} de la Reina Na^a Sa lo fice escribir por m^{do} del Rei Su Padre—Reg^{da} Lic. Ximenes—Acord^{da} El Obispo de Palencia Conde—Castaneda Chanciller.

Cotegé esta copia con la Provision original que esta en Sevilla en el Archivo de la Contratacion. Sevilla, 20 de Marzo 1784.

[Signed] Muñoz

[Rubrica]

[ABSTRACT]

Notwithstanding the ordinances already issued relative to the conversion of the Indians, little has been gained, for the Indians are by nature lazy and full of vices; and there is no system of inspection or teaching. The distance of the native settlements from those of the Spaniards and the persistence of old beliefs are the chief hindrances to the spread of the faith. Also the Indian has little love for the Spaniard and does not wish his doctrine. On this account the proper corrective would seem to be the removal of the Indians nearer to the Spanish settlements, where they will be nearer the churches and can learn from the Spaniards matters pertaining to the faith. A greater proximity will also be of service to the Indians in times of sickness. The long journeys now necessary for those Indians who serve the Spaniards will in case of removal be avoided; the deaths occurring on such journeys will be also avoided; and children can be baptized at birth. Abuses now common from the Spaniards will largely cease, for

those having oversight of the Indians can inspect them more frequently. For these reasons the ordinances of Burgos, thirty-five in number, were issued.

The ordinances may be classified under two main heads: relation of the Indians to the conversion and to the service rendered by them to the Spaniards. Proper housing and farm plots, under proper supervision, are enjoined. In order that there may be less incentive to return to their old homes, these are to be destroyed. Proper church facilities are to be provided and the Indians must attend divine service daily. It was ordained that the day should begin in the church and the Indians were not to be required to rise before daylight. They were to be regularly instructed in the faith under penalty of fine to the Spaniards who should not execute this obligation. Ecclesiastics for celebrating mass, hearing confessions, and performing other sacred duties were to be provided. Churches were to be established near the mines in order that the spiritual welfare of the Indians might not be neglected. Those Spaniards having fifty or more Indians were to provide opportunities for the teaching of reading and writing to the brightest boy, in order that the latter might in turn instruct the other Indians in matters pertaining to the faith, for the Indians would learn easier from their fellows. If the encomenderos themselves did not see that this was done, the inspectors were to look after it at the expense of the former. Confession at least once annually (if possible) was provided for. All children were to be baptised within a week after birth.

It was prescribed that the Indians work in the mines for five months and then be given a rest period of forty days. They were to be allowed to have their dances on Sundays and feastdays. Food was to be regularly provided and on Sundays and feastdays, they were to be given meat. A pound of meat daily was to be furnished those who worked in the mines. On Fridays fish was to be provided.

The custom of having plural wives was ordered discontinued. The sons of caciques, of the age of thirteen or under, were to be instructed by the Franciscans. Pregnant women were not to be sent to the mines after four months, and they were to be allowed to nurse their children for three years. The Indians were to be supplied with hammocks and not allowed to sleep on the ground; and proper clothing was to be furnished them, and in the cases of the cacique and his family, the

clothing was to be of better grade than that furnished to the common Indians. Spaniards were to be served by their own Indians, and caciques were to be given Indians for their service and were to be given better food than that given to the common Indians. They were also to have better instruction. Births and deaths were to be reported promptly in order that it might be seen whether the Indians were increasing or decreasing in number.

Encomenderos were to be allowed to punish only their own Indians. Power of punishment was to lie in general, however, with the visitadors. Encomenderos were to send a third part of their Indians to work in the mines; in some communities, exceptions were made, but in place of this the Indians were to make hammocks and cotton shirts and raise food for the community. It was possible, for convenience in some instances, for one encomendero to furnish the Indians for work in the mines and for another to supply the food and other things necessary for the laborers. Indians were not to be treated harshly, but those Indians having the status of slaves were on a different footing and might be treated as their owners wished.

In case of the death or removal of an encomendero, the Indians on that encomienda were not to be transferred to others but were to remain in one locality in order to prevent the trouble that would be caused by moving about. Each settlement was to have two inspectors who, twice each year were to inspect all conditions having to do with the Indians. Under severe penalties, the inspectors were not to take to their homes any Indian they might find wandering about loose, but must place him in charge of a proper person until such Indian could be returned to his proper master. The inspectors were subject to the *residencia* once every two years.

In the clarifications of the ordinances, it was decreed that married Indian women be not obliged to work in the mines with their husbands unless of their own free will or at the wish of their husbands. Instead they were to work on their own or their husbands' farms or on the farms of the Spaniards, in the last case receiving the current daily wage. Boys or girls under fourteen years of age might be employed only on light labor, and were to be under the control of their fathers. Orphans were to be placed in charge of persons authorized therefor. Any work performed by boys and girls was to be paid for and was not to be permitted to interfere with religious instruction. Unmarried

Indian women were not to be allowed to become vagabonds. Within a period of ten years both men and women were to begin to wear clothes. Indians with the requisite Christian training were to be granted a greater measure of independence.

BOOK REVIEWS

Doctrina de Monroe y Cooperación Internacional. By CAMILO BARCIA TRELLES. (Madrid: Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones (S.A.) Editorial Mundo Latino, 1931. Pp. 741.)

What is the justification for a new work on the Monroe Doctrine? Has not everything worth saying already been said about this famous declaration? Has it not been reviewed repeatedly in every possible light, and from every possible angle? Has not its every facet been illuminated? Assailed by such apprehensions one is likely to take up the book of Barcia Trelles—especially if one is unfamiliar with the author's antecedents—with little expectation of finding within its covers anything more than the conventional gloss or the hackneyed recital of facts long since familiar to every student of American diplomacy. But one meets with a pleasant surprise. The author, a Spaniard, views the subject from a fresh point of view. Not only that, he brings to bear upon it a trained and well-informed mind. American readers will be favorably impressed by his sincerity and by the depth of his understanding, though it is doubtful whether they will in every case fully acquiesce in his interpretation of the facts.

The title is significant. The doctrine, though a national policy of the United States, is international in outlook, and it is to this external aspect that the author devotes the major part of his attention. He allots relatively little space to the part of the story in which Rush, Canning, Adams, and Monroe were the central figures. Even on that familiar ground he avoids treading too much in the beaten track of those who have gone before. The basic idea of the doctrine—the author calls it the intangibility of America—did not originate with the declaration of Monroe, nor with Jefferson's earlier suggestion of a "meridian of partition", nor even with John Adams's treaty draft of a still earlier date. It first found expression, we are told, in a principle set forth early in the sixteenth century by the Spanish publicist, Francisco de Vitoria, who contended that the new lands could be annexed by the discoverer only in case they were *res nullius*. But America, according to Vitoria, was not *res nullius*, for it was occupied by the Indians who were reasonable beings with a polity of their own.

It followed, therefore, that rightful title to it could not be acquired by Spain nor by any other European power. This early advocacy of America for the Americans, we know, produced no effect. Yet Charles V. a little later promulgated a law which declared Spanish America to be inalienable; that is, a law which asserted intangibility, not in favor of the Indians but in favor of Spain against the rest of Europe. The doctrine of the two spheres, found special application in the treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal. By the terms of this convention it was agreed that Brazil and the Spanish provinces in South America should remain at peace regardless of any state of war that might arise between the principals on the other side of the ocean. Thus, according to Barcia Trelles, the two-sphere invention was Spain's; the patent only Monroe's.

The point seems a bit labored, but the author does not dwell upon it. He is concerned with immediate effects rather than remote causes. Specifically, he is interested in inquiring to what extent the Monroe Doctrine is an obstacle in the way of international coöperation. Moved by that interest, he has gone to great pains to present the situation which confronted the United States during the two or three years immediately following the famous pronouncement. Then it was that the government at Washington, in the face of demands for continental action, chose to maintain the declaration as a national policy. No one else has set forth so fully and so clearly the facts relating to this problem. No one else has examined so minutely or weighed so carefully the questions raised in those years by Mexico, Colombia, Brazil, and Argentina. No one else has discussed with greater penetration the bearing of the Panama Congress on the Monroe declaration. Whether the United States committed a grave error, as the author maintains it did, in failing to welcome the proffered coöperation of the Hispanic-American countries, is a point upon which opinions will differ. There is much truth in his contention that the United States stood in a peculiarly advantageous position at the time; that by winning a diplomatic victory over England the American republic had gone far toward the establishment of a moral ascendancy over its neighbors; that the rising states were friendly and eager for joint action; that the moment was highly opportune for laying the foundations for continental solidarity. But it does not follow that so simple an expedient as changing a national declaration into a continental compact would

have fixed the unity which seemed to hover for a moment over the new world a hundred years ago.

From Panama the story leaps to Versailles. The intervening period holds little of interest for the student of international coöperation. With the entrance of the United States into the Great War things changed. There were signs of a new era. The utterances of Woodrow Wilson gave ground for the belief that the foreign policy of the United States was now to be liberalized, that isolation was to be abandoned and international coöperation adopted in its stead. But Wilson's generous impulses, the author thinks, were so attenuated by opinion at home that he ended by introducing into the league covenant Article XXI, which in effect not only reasserted the line of division between the old world and the new, but deepened the cleavage between the Anglo and the Hispanic sections of the new world itself. Attaching great importance to the article, the author dilates upon it. The events leading to its adoption, the discussions upon it at Versailles, the attitude of the various nations, public sentiment in the United States, the debates in the senate—every phase of the subject he considers in detail. The unfavorable culmination in the senate, he attributes to our unwillingness to depart from our traditional policy, even with reservations; and this leads him to inquire whether any permanent collaboration between the United States and Europe can be hoped for. In an effort to answer this question he considers, also at great length, the bearing of the Monroe Doctrine on two other important questions: first, the Permanent Court of International Justice; and secondly, the Kellogg Pact. In regard to the first he is skeptical. He sees incompatibility between devotion to isolation and adherence to the court. In regard to the second, he notes a like incompatibility, the pact being a measure for the outlawry of war, and the Monroe Doctrine an essential feature of the military system of the United States.

Toward the end of the book the author reverts to the Monroe Doctrine as a problem in inter-American relations. One of the objects of his inquiry is to discover to what extent the Hispanic nations have recognized the doctrine in recent times. His point of departure now is the Venezuelan incident of 1902. It was on that occasion that the Argentine minister of foreign relations, Luís M. Drago, wrote the famous dispatch in which he expressly recognized the Monroe Doctrine and proposed that it be so extended as to preclude the forcible collec-

tion of debts by European powers from American States. To this proposal of the Argentine government, Barcia Trelles attributes, curiously, two evil consequences: first, the gradual abstention of Europe from making loans in Hispanic America, with the consequent rise of the United States to financial ascendancy in that region; and secondly, in place of an occasional armed intervention by European powers, the regular and systematic use of force by the United States. The result, in short, was "dollar diplomacy" for which, says the author, Drago wrote the prologue and Knox the epilogue. Developing the subject further, the author adverts to the express recognition of the league of nations in the Tacna-Arica question. He mentions another unqualified recognition—that of President Leguía on the occasion of Hoover's visit—and then passes to a consideration of an attempt at collective recognition in the fourth Pan-American Conference at Buenos Aires in 1910. He next discusses various proposals for a conditional recognition, particularly the efforts of Honduras, Salvador, and Costa Rica to obtain a new definition of the doctrine; and finally, he reviews at length the pertinent discussions in the sixth Pan-American Conference held at Havana in 1928.

At last, bringing his long disquisition to a close the author states his conclusions substantially as follows: (1) The Monroe Doctrine as it is interpreted by the United States not only separates the old world from the new, but divides the new world itself into two sections—the United States on the one hand and Hispanic America on the other. (2) The efforts to remove by codification the causes of misunderstanding between these two sections have proved fruitless. (3) The expressions Monroe Doctrine and international solidarity are antithetical. (4) The expressions Monroe Doctrine and American solidarity are equally antithetical. (5) Although the doctrine was formulated to prevent threatened intervention on the part of European powers, it is now employed to justify interventions consummated by the United States.

The work ought to be widely read in this country. It would be of especial value to all who are in any way concerned with the formulation of our foreign policy or the conduct of our foreign relations. Written in Spanish, unfortunately, it will remain a closed book to many of those who might profit most from its perusal. It is to be hoped that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, to whom

the author was indebted for a subvention to enable him to prosecute studies in the United States, will now lend its support to an edition in the English language. By no other means could so much be done to remove the misunderstandings to which the Monroe Doctrine has given rise.

JOSEPH B. LOCKEY.

University of California at Los Angeles.

Letters of John III, King of Portugal, 1521-1557. The Portuguese Text Edited with an Introduction by J. D. M. FORD. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. xxx, 408.)

Among the recent acquisitions of Harvard University is a large part of the library of the Portuguese scholar, Fernando de Palha, who died in 1897. Included in the treasures of the Palha collection are 372 letters of King John III. of Portugal, whose reign covers the years 1521-1557. The text of these letters has been edited with meticulous care by Professor Ford of the Department of Romance Languages of Harvard. Professor Ford is also responsible for the scholarly and engaging introduction.

The vast majority of these letters are addressed to Dom Antonio de Ataide, John's chancellor of the exchequer (*vedor de sua fazenda*), and at various times ambassador to the courts of France and Spain. Owing to the important posts held by this official and the unlimited confidence the king reposed in him, the letters touch upon almost every affair of state in which Portugal was involved during the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The question naturally arises: to what extent do these letters shed new light on the reign of John III.? Most of the information hitherto available on this period is derived from two seventeenth century chronicles, one by Francisco de Andrada, printed in 1613, and the other by Frei Luiz de Souza which, though written during the years 1627-1632, was not published until 1844. Andrada was apparently unfamiliar with the letters in the Palha collection. Souza sought and obtained somewhat of the first-hand information contained in the letters but he did not actually use it in his *Annaes*. Any historian, therefore, who essays to write authoritatively on the reign of John III. will find it necessary to place under requisition the letters assembled by Palha as well as the works of the two chroniclers just mentioned.

The letters cover an immense variety of topics and in their multitudinous details we may acquaint ourselves with the manner in which an absolute monarch of the sixteenth century conducted the affairs of his kingdom. To the specialist in Hispanic American History, however, the letters will prove something of a disappointment. When one considers that the reign of John III. embraced such important events as the reconnaissance of the Brazilian littoral by Affonso de Souza, the foundation of the captaincies, the definite establishment of royal authority in Brazil under Thomé de Souza, the French occupation of the harbor of Rio de Janeiro by Villegagnon, and the amazing activities of the Jesuits, we should expect to find repeated and detailed references to Portuguese America. Such unhappily is not the case. A careful scrutiny of the 372 letters reveals only 16 which contain data on Brazil. Of these only two, or at the most three, yield information of importance. In letter No. 8 dated May 18, 1531, John III. instructs d'Ataide, then his ambassador in France, touching the rumors that Martim Affonso de Souza had fallen in with a number of French ships loaded with brazil-wood and had captured them. D'Ataide is to evince skepticism regarding the veracity of such rumors, but if they are subsequently verified he is to demand pointedly of the French court why these French ships were trespassing upon Portuguese preserves. As a matter of fact de Souza did capture a number of these French interlopers but the matter is not pursued further in the letters. In letter No. 35, dated January 21, 1533, the king sends the gratifying intelligence that Pero Lopes de Souza, the brother of Martim Affonso, while making his way up the coast of Brazil, had captured a French factory which had been set up at Pernambuco. In the remaining letters, the references to Brazil are casual and have little historic interest.

The letters are not easy to read. The Portuguese orthography of the early sixteenth century was in a state of flux and the various royal scribes permitted themselves a wide latitude in transcribing the king's dictation. While these variations in spelling may fill the heart of the phonologist or philologist with joy, they constitute a real stumbling-block to the historical investigator. The difficulty is only partly met by a glossary.

Were the reviewer to venture a criticism of this carefully prepared and handsomely printed book it would be that the interests of the

historian seem at times to be sacrificed to those of the philologist. The value of the letters would for example be considerably enhanced through a judicious use of footnotes explaining the less obvious proper names and historical events with which the letters are replete. Footnotes there are, to be sure, but with two or three exceptions they are confined to departures from the readings of the Palha manuscripts. The task of the historical student would also have been facilitated had each letter been preceded by a line or two indicating its contents. Finally, an index, even if incomplete, would have been a welcome addition.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

Cartas Jesuiticas. Tomo I. *Cartas do Brasil, 1549-1560*. By MANOEL DE NOBREGA. Tomo II. *Cartas Avulsas, 1550-1568*. (Rio de Janeiro: Officina Industrial Graphica, 1931. Pp. 258; 520.)

Dialogos das Grandezas do Brasil, pela primeira vez tirado em livro. Introduction by CAPISTRANO DE ABREU and notes by RODOLPHO GARCIA. (Rio de Janeiro: Officina Industrial Graphica, 1930. Pp. 315.)

Viagem ao Brazil. By HANS STADEN. Translated from the Marburg Text of 1557 by ALBERTO LÖFGREN, and revised and annotated by THEODORO SAMPAIO. (Rio de Janeiro: Officina Industrial Graphica, 1930. Pp. 186.)

The Brazilian Academy of Letters, the outstanding learned society of Brazil, has for a number of years been issuing a series of publications under the general title of "Biblioteca de Cultura Nacional". These works fall into the two major divisions of literature and history. In the latter field thus far only five books have been issued. Four of these, which have appeared during the past two years, are considered in the present review.

Volume I. of the *Cartas Jesuiticas* was originally published in 1886 by Sr. Valle Cabral, the head of the manuscript division of the national library of Rio de Janeiro, in an edition which has now become exceedingly rare. The collection consists of twenty-five letters of Manoel de Nobrega, the intrepid missionary who, as leader of a band of five Jesuits, accompanied Thomé de Souza to Brazil in 1549. Cover-

ing, as they do, the critical period from 1549 to 1560, the letters are an invaluable source for the period of which they treat. The careful annotations of Sr. Valle Cabral have been brought up to date by Sr. Rodolpho Garcia. The letters are preceded by the classic life of Nobrega written in 1719 by Padre Antonio Franco.

Volume II. of the *Cartas Jesuiticas*, known as *Cartas Avulsas* (i.e., "Random Letters") is of even greater importance. It consists of sixty-three letters written by twenty-seven different Jesuits, and embracing the years 1550-1568. The history of this work is not without interest. In 1887, under the auspices of the minister of finance, the *Cartas Avulsas* were set up in type and printed. The publication of the letters, however, was held up until explanatory notes by Sr. Valle Cabral could be prepared. Shortly afterward, a fire in the national printing office destroyed apparently all of the printed copies and for years the work was regarded as irretrievably lost. Though the original manuscript still existed in the national library, it was in such poor condition as to be in large part illegible. But recently a copy of the printed work was discovered—the editor does not tell us how—and this exceedingly important source was saved for posterity as a brand from the burning.

The explanatory notes by Sr. Valle Cabral apparently were never prepared and in their present form the *Cartas Avulsas* owe much to their editor Dr. Afranio Peixoto, President of the Brazilian Academy of Letters and professor at the University of Rio de Janeiro. In the abundant annotation the editor has revealed much ingenuity and erudition in clearing up obscure points and in identifying proper names. As Dr. Peixoto makes clear in his excellent introduction, the letters constitute one of the most important sources for the history of sixteenth century Brazil which we possess. "In the first letters," to quote the editor,

we are carried back to the very dawn of Brazil; when we come to the end, though only a score of years have elapsed, the sun is already high.

The *Dialogos das Grandezas do Brasil* is not strictly speaking a new publication, but like the *Cartas Avulsas* it has had many vicissitudes and was rescued from oblivion by only a narrow margin. The original apparently existed in one manuscript in the national library of Lisbon. Subsequently it disappeared, though not before one of the six dialogues was copied and published in an obscure literary magazine

of Rio in 1848-1849. Thanks, however, to the indefatigable labors of the historian Varnhagen another manuscript was found in Leyden, and was published over a period of four years in the *Revista do Instituto Archaeologico* of Pernambuco. So inaccessible and rare was this publication that the well-known historian, Capistrano de Abreu, arranged for its appearance in the *Diario Official* at Rio de Janeiro during February and March, 1900. Thirty years later the Brazilian Academy undertook to render the "Dialogues" available in permanent book form. This new and, it is hoped, definitive edition is based on the text as published by Capistrano and has as its introduction a scholarly article which this same authority prepared for the *Jornal do Commercio* in 1900. The extensive critical notes have been supplied by one of Capistrano's most brilliant disciples, Sr. Rodolpho Garcia.

The "Dialogues," written according to Capistrano in 1616, present an unrivaled picture of conditions in Brazil in the first decades of the seventeenth century. The unknown author was a Portuguese of very real parts. He was acquainted with Latin and had read the works of the leading geographers and scientists of his time. He was familiar with the products of Portugal and its colonists, was a keen student of the fauna and flora of Brazil, and concerned himself with such practical problems as the possible utilization of the Amazon River as a means of establishing communications with Peru. The *dramatis personae* of the book are not real characters; the dialogue is simply a conventional device to sustain the interest of the reader. The six "Dialogues" take up in succession: (1) a summary description of the various captaincies from the Amazon to São Vicente; (2) the origin of the American races and the excellence of the climate of Brazil; (3) the four sources of the wealth of Brazil, namely sugar, brazilwood, cotton, timber; (4) the wealth which might accrue to Portugal and its colony from trade in such commodities as wine, oil, honey, etc.; (5) the fauna and flora of Brazil; (6) the customs of the Portuguese colonists, and a description of the Indians. In fact, there is almost no phase of colonial life which is not touched upon by this shrewd and intelligent observer. The book is supplied with an excellent index.

All students of colonial Brazil have heard of Hans Staden, the enterprising German who went to Brazil in 1548, was captured by anthropophagous Indians, and after a series of almost incredible ad-

ventures and hardships returned to Europe in 1555. His account, which lost nothing in the telling, has become a classic of Brazilian historical literature. Prior to the publication of the book under review no less than twenty-five editions had appeared of which that by Sir Richard Burton published by the Hakluyt Society in 1874 was the most important. The present work is a translation from the original Marburg edition of 1557 prepared in 1900 by Alberto Löfgren and now published with critical notes by Theodore Sampaio. The value of the book is enhanced by the quaint woodcuts and title page taken from the recent facsimile edition of Frankfort (1927).

In rendering available to the scholarly world these classics of Brazilian colonial history, printed in an attractive format, equipped with scholarly introductions and adequate explanatory data, the Brazilian Academy has placed all students of Hispanic American History under a permanent obligation. The appearance of further volumes of the "Biblioteca de Cultura Nacional" will be awaited with eager interest.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

Historia documentada de San Cristóbal de la Habana en el Siglo XVI.

By IRENE A. WRIGHT. 2 vols. (Habana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX", 1927. Pp. xxiv, 314; 263; 8 plans.)

Historia documentada de San Cristóbal de la Habana en la primera

Mitad del Siglo XVII. By IRENE A. WRIGHT. (Habana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX", 1930. Pp. viii, 190. 7 plans.)

In 1919, the Academia de la Historia of Havana, Cuba, offered prizes for the two best historical monographs to be presented to that body on "The Founding, Removal, and Development of the City of San Cristóbal de la Habana during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries". The motive for the contest was the celebration of the fourth centenary of the removal of the city of Havana from its first site on the south coast to the north side of the port then called Carenas. Although the two works presented did not exactly conform to the conditions governing the contest, the prizes were awarded to their authors, the first award being made to the author and editor of the two works noted above.

In presenting her work, Miss Wright stated that a complete work on the theme assigned could not be presented in less than four volumes. She conceived of the materials for such a work as falling into four sections, namely: Havana during the sixteenth Century, or the period of French influence; Havana during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, or the period of English influence; Havana during the second quarter of the seventeenth century, or the period of Dutch influence; and Havana during the second half of the seventeenth century. In addition to her preliminary matter, and a narrative of 176 pages, Miss Wright, in the two volumes of the first work above noted, presented 180 documents and eight plans—all never before published and reproduced from the originals in the Archivo de Indias.

Almost from the very beginning, the history of Havana was that of the island of Cuba, as Miss Wright says truly. It was the central port for the ships sailing to and from Spain—the Seville on this side of the sea. It was the center of the mercantile and military systems of the Indies, the key of their navigation, and the bulwark of their defense.

Being based entirely on documentary material and excluding all secondary works, it is not surprising that the volumes exhibit a seeming disproportion in certain features of Havana's history, for instance, on the military side. This, however, was recognized by Miss Wright herself. The military character of Havana, owing to its geographical position, was the basis of the history of Cuba during the four centuries of the colonial period. The several forts of the city and vicinity were constructed to meet the threats of the French, English, and Dutch. "Havana", Miss Wright truly remarks, "owes all its progress to wars and the fears of wars".

The seeming disproportion, then, in the character of the documents is not strange, and does not detract from their merit. The documents were excellently transcribed and present much of interest and value to the historian. The work must be consulted not only by historians of Cuba but by historians of the military art in America.

The second work noted above is a continuation of the first, but instead of restricting itself to the first quarter of the seventeenth century according to Miss Wright's plan as outlined above, it includes the first half of that century. The period covered is divided into two sections—the first (1600-1608), treating of the influence of the Eng-

lish in Cuban waters, including the final effects of the rivalry between Philip III. of Spain and Elizabeth of England. The second section covers the period of the Dutch influence which reached its apogee in 1628, when the famous Piet Heyn captured the Spanish fleet in Matanzas Bay—a great blow to Spanish prestige. In this episode and others of less prominence (as, for instance, the exploits of Cornelius Corneliszoon Jol, called “Peg Leg” in Cuba, Miss Wright has made an excellent study of Spanish navigation, the fortification of Havana, and Spanish commerce in the West Indies. Many important movements are touched on, such as the development of the shipbuilding industry in Cuba.

The second work consists of narrative, plentifully interlarded with quotations from original manuscripts. It is to be regretted that Miss Wright did not reproduce any manuscripts entire in an appendix as in the first work. However, her narrative is better than that of the first work. Both titles together form important source material for the study of Havana and Cuba.

FERNANDO ORTIZ.

Washington, D. C.

The Cuban Situation and our Treaty Relations. By PHILIP G. WRIGHT. (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institute, 1931. Pp. xiv, 219. \$3.50.)

This volume (No. 42 of the Publications of the Brookings Institute) belongs to that group of books written in English which Cubans, unless they can read English, should have available in Spanish; and to this book belong the recent volumes on Cuba by C. E. Chapman and L. H. Jenks, both among the principal references used by Mr. Wright. The volume deals with the relations between Cuba and the United States and their influence upon the present Cuban situation. This reviewer believes, however, that Mr. Wright did not go far enough, for he has limited himself to the treaty relations and has paid scant attention to those political considerations which have affected the economic situation.

While he points out, for instance, that United States investments in Cuba were responsible for the vast development of the sugar industry and the consequent overproduction, he has given little or no hint that a wise nationalistic program in Cuba would have maintained

a proper control over Cuba's lands. Such a course would have prevented the virtual alienation of twenty-five per cent of the most fertile lands and United States investments would have been kept within reasonable limits. Corrupt Cuban politics have much for which to answer in this regard, as well as in many other directions in Cuba, and have much to do with the present deplorable condition of the island. Sugar producers have been allowed to import cheap Negro labor from other West Indian islands, thus lowering the standard of living; while sugar producers have been able to buy private port rights. The alliance between sugar investors and Cuban politicians has resulted in a burden on the Cuban people of \$42,000,000, and an artificial restriction of crops embodied in that foolish attempt to control the world market—the so-called Chadbourne Plan.

It is a pity that Mr. Wright did not make an extended study of the Chadbourne Plan. The favoring of sugar production in Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands has affected Cuba most adversely, bringing starvation to many laborers because of crop restriction. Cuba does not have the economic structure of the United States and cannot support any system of fictitious prices. The part played in the United States by investors in that country to secure the reciprocity treaty and to bring about a protective tariff for domestic producers is excellently portrayed; but there is little in the book to show the misery produced in Cuba by the alliance of corrupt politicians and sugar producers.

Scarcely over twenty pages are devoted to an unsatisfactory account of the history of Cuba prior to the war of 1898. The short, but keen study of the Platt Amendment and the reciprocity treaty is excellent. A very frank exposition is made of interventions under the Platt Amendment, in which, side by side with the intervention of 1906 are placed those concerned with the veteranist movement, the Negro uprising of 1912, the unfair Gonzales "notes", and General Crowder's mission to Cuba. The "gentlemen's agreement" of several years ago, by which the presidential term was increased to six years, and the statement of July 17, 1930 (never fulfilled), relative to electoral legislation should also have been included in this list of interventions.

The reelection of the present president in 1928 is mentioned as having been brought about by an amalgamation of the three political parties of Cuba. Perhaps the author is unaware that Cuba has no

real political parties, but only skeletons of parties which are controlled by cliques—a condition ruling since 1919.

It is correctly stated in the volume that the present administration has promoted public improvements, but the public debt has risen from \$97,000,000 in 1925 to \$270,000,000; and many of the improvements were unnecessary or unwise. It should be noted also that the appropriation for the army is out of all proportion to the need or the population.

However, Mr. Wright's volume is a very honest one. It contains an excellent survey of the Cuban sugar industry and the conditions affecting it. Skilful use is made of sugar statistics and the comments thereon are accurate. Perhaps the most important fact omitted is that the first sugar mills in Cuba were established by virtue of the economic support of Philip II., and that since that time they have been an economic drag on Cuba. The sugar industry—always a parasitical growth—has never been able to pay its expenses with its own resources in normal times. It depended on slavery for its prosperity in former times and now the masked slavery of the West Indian laborers is unable to save it. Some sort of economic euthanasia is needed for industries which have developed into monstrosities as is the case with Cuba's sugar industry.

HERMINIO PORTELL VILÁ.

Washington, D. C.

Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America.

By ELIZABETH DONNAN. Vols. I. and II. [III. in course of preparation]. (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, Division of Historical Research, 1930, 1931. Pp. x, 495; lxii, 731.)

The 480 documents presented in these two volumes illustrate the history of the African slave trade from 1441 to 1807. "Though the emphasis has been placed upon the English trade to the British West Indies", the larger topic of the traffic to the new world carried on by several European nations has received some consideration. Divided into two parts, volume one deals with the period from the time the traffic "became a part of European commerce until the end of the seventeenth century". Volume two carries the subject down to 1807, when British and American legislation outlawed the trade. When volume three comes out, it promises to shift the emphasis to the connection of the thirteen English mainland colonies with the traffic.

The introductory remarks, found at the beginning of parts one and two of the first volume and at the beginning of the second volume, and extending over a total of 110 pages, furnish a background for, and an interpretation of, the documents which follow. The documents themselves vary in length and nature and illuminate such topics as the beginning of African exploitation, the rivalry and friction of European nations in Africa, the development of the great commercial companies which controlled the traffic, the struggle for markets in the new world, the methods used in transportation, and many other matters. Though it is no fault of the compiler, one looks in vain for much light on the origins, habits, and customs of the people enslaved.

The compiler has drawn extensively upon both printed and manuscript materials found in British and Spanish archives and libraries. She is conscious of the fact that the depositories of other European countries would have yielded much more. She is modest in admitting that "the amount of material relating to this subject is prodigious" and that space would permit her only "to suggest possibilities for intensive study and to point the way to available material".

While acknowledging that this is an excellent piece of work for which the American historical public is profoundly grateful, to the present reviewer it seems unfortunate that the plan could not have been more comprehensive. How much more significant it would be if the treatment were even as thorough for all countries as it is for Great Britain! Still no treatment which stops at 1807 could be wholly satisfactory; one of the most important periods in the history of the African slave trade was the second quarter of the nineteenth century or long after the trade had been made piracy by the great nations of the world.

An ample index enhances each of the two volumes. The general format is good. It would probably have been appreciated by users of these volumes had the entire edition, instead of only a part of it been substantially bound, for the copies in paper covers will inevitably deteriorate unless permanently bound. But despite of what the product might have been the reviewer believes that the American historical profession owes a debt of gratitude to Professor Donnan for this excellent and useful compilation.

LAWRENCE F. HILL.

Ohio State University.

Isabella of Spain, The Last Crusader. By WILLIAM THOMAS WALSH.
(New York: Robert M. McBride & Company, 1930. Pp. XIX,
515.)

Isabella of Castile, co-possessor with Ferdinand of Aragon, of the illustrious title "The Catholic Kings", was truly an heroic figure. Endowed with indomitable courage and perseverance, and "an intuitive sense that outran all calculation", she succeeded in the seemingly insuperable task of reducing the troublous realms of Castile to unified royal control and, with the coöperation of her consort she laid the foundations of a great Spanish nation-state. The amazing story of the queen, whose achievements outran fiction, has often been told but perhaps no more convincingly and sympathetically than by Prescott in his *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*. Yet Prescott wrote many years ago and since his time modern research has opened up treasures of source material unknown to him. Moreover, much of the material upon which he depended, like Llorente's *Inquisition*, for example, has been found to be unreliable. For these reasons it is generally agreed that Prescott is out of date. Mr. Walsh, however, advances as an additional reason for rejecting Prescott, "his incapability of understanding the spirit of fifteenth century Spain, because with all his erudition he could never wholly forget the prejudices of an early nineteenth century Bostonian." It is, therefore, with all the advantages of modern scientific research and with due humility free from "an air of condescension", yet objectively, withal, that Mr. Walsh proposes to write the "authentic" life of Queen Isabella whom he chooses to call "The Last of the Crusaders".

In expressive and entertaining style, Mr. Walsh recounts, with a generous interlarding of speeches and dialogue patently fabricated by imaginative court chroniclers, the remarkable career of the "Queen of queens" from the time when she "opened her eyes upon a muddled world", until she passed away to the accompaniment of unleashed elements. In picturing what he regards as an authentic environment in which the great queen moved, the biographer evidences remarkable ingenuity in piecing together widely scattered references, and these he liberally supplements with pure imagination. There is no doubt regarding the literary skill exhibited in the writing of this biography. But we are primarily interested in it as authentic history.

Mr. Walsh supports the novel thesis that the key to an understand-

ing of Spanish history is an appreciation of the Jewish menace. Consequently, in the light of this supposedly ever-present and real danger, which other historians, largely because of sectarian reasons, so he believes, have been too blind to see, he explains the course of Spanish history. The author is afflicted, it is patent, with a very pronounced anti-Jewish complex. It was the Jews, he contends, on the authority of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, who invited the Moslem into Spain. But this was not, as he represents, part of a deep-seated plot to overthrow Christendom. The Jews were cruelly persecuted and in sheer desperation they were forced to seek succor. Moreover, who would deny that the Moslem would have invaded Spain with or without a so-called Jewish invitation? It is the author's contention that the Jews came closer to the establishment, by design, of a New Jerusalem in Spain than in any other place. If he had been as faithful in quoting Jewish historians on this subject as on certain others where it was convenient, he would have found that the principal aspiration of the Jews was only fair treatment, no matter whether it be accorded by Christians or by Moslem.

In making her momentous decision to establish the Inquisition, Isabella, says Walsh, yielded to "an overwhelming pressure of public opinion". There was no "popular" demand for the tribunal; rather, the Spanish people had to be converted to its support. It was the wheedling and arguments of fanatical clerics like Torquemada, who did not fail to point out the political and economic advantages of the Inquisition, which caused the queen to yield.

In defense of the Holy Office, Walsh asserts:

If an institution is to be judged not by the evils it caused, but by those it prevented, the verdict of history must be that in the long run the Spanish Inquisition proved to be a life-saving organism in the sense that it averted more deaths than it caused. Not only was Spain free from the terrible religious wars that cost thousands of lives in the countries where Protestantism obtained a foothold, but she escaped almost completely the terrors of witch-burning, which claimed 100,000 victims in Germany and 30,000 in Great Britain.

The Inquisition, it is true, saved Spain for the Catholic Church, but it did not prevent it from intervening in the religious wars. Moreover, the author ignores the fact that the Holy Office contributed materially to the enthronement of religious bigotry in Spain. And as for Tomás de Torquemada, he is represented as a kindly, gentle, man of prayer whom a monstrous league of sectarian prejudice has pictured as a

cruel fanatic. He was not a fanatic, says Walsh, for, according to his own definition of the term, "a fanatic is a man from whom some idea, true or false, has shut out part of reality". Torquemada insured the permanence of Isabella's life work, and for his self-effacing zeal in ferreting out heretics, Walsh intimates he was worthy of canonization.

The expulsion of the Jews in 1492 is also justified as a salubrious measure. Although the author is correct in his assertion that the expulsion was not responsible for an immediate economic decline of Spain, he does not recognize that possible adverse effects of the expulsion were counterbalanced by the inflow of America's riches. Spain's prosperity would have been more permanent and firmly established had the Jews been allowed to remain. In accounting for the decline of the Spanish Empire, Mr. Walsh contends that exile Marranos, to revenge themselves on Spain, diverted trade from that country to Holland, Italy, and England, and even revealed Spain's naval secrets to its enemies. Consequently,

the *conversos* played a large part in bringing low the greatest Catholic nation of Europe at the moment of its final triumph, and transferring the dominion of the seas and of the world politically to the anti-Catholic power of modern England.

Needless to say this is a thesis no reputable historical scholar would support.

The book contains many more novel ideas. For example:

Not only was [medieval] warfare less bloody and less protracted as a rule than in modern times, but there was nothing like the intense hatred of one nation for another. Christians hated Mohammedans, and with some reason, but there was generally a feeling of the solidarity and common interest of Christianity which has not existed since the time of Luther.

Is it difficult to recall wars, long and bloody, between Catholic princes before and after the rise of disruptive Protestantism? Here is another novel assertion: The Church, says Walsh, prohibited slavery as immoral. He speaks of "the traditional Catholic instinct that held in abhorrence the enslavement of human beings, a scruple which the Jews did not share". Did not St. Paul counsel slaves to be obedient to their masters, and was not the institution justified by St. Jerome? When Las Casas argued against the enslavement of the Indians, did he not suggest the introduction of negro slaves to America? The Church, it is true, worked for an amelioration of the condition of slaves, but as a matter of necessary policy it accepted the institution.

(See *The Catholic Encyclopedia*.) On the subject of slavery, Mr. Walsh says further,

It is significant that slavery persisted longest where Jewish influence was strong, long after its definite abolition in all Catholic countries.

Did slavery persist longer in England than in Cuba and Brazil?

The picture of Queen Isabella which one gets from reading this biography is that of a beautiful personality, a paragon of all the virtues, in short, a superhuman genius and a saint. She is described as a military genius of the first rank. "She saw plainly the A. B. C. of all military success: attack, attack, attack". Regarding her sincere piety there can be no doubt, except that, Mr. Walsh's assertions to the contrary notwithstanding, due to the persuasion of clerical zealots who were constantly in attendance on her, her religious zeal often assumed fanatical proportions. Yet, withal, she was never blind to the advantages of advancing material interests through ecclesiastical policy, for she said,

Though this business is the business of God and of the Church, to defend which all we Christian Princes are obliged, there might be mixed in it something of our own interest.

According to her biographer, "She despised all double-dealing"; "It was her nature to despise any taint of fraud"; and "It was typical of her to reject at once, on instinct, any suggestion of violence". How can all this be reconciled, only to mention a few prominent examples, with her violation of Columbus's contract, the more shameful repudiation of the capitulation of Granada with the Moslem, and the invitation to Henry VII. of England to attack his brother Christian sovereign of France? Mr. Walsh offers an ingenious explanation for the queen's departure in her later years from the strict path of truth and honor:

It must be said that at the period when this trait becomes most noticeable, she is exactly forty-five years old, a difficult age for most women.

"Columbus", says Mr. Walsh, "went not to find a new trade route, but as a missionary explorer". Why then was this not mentioned in his contract, and why, indeed did not a cleric accompany the first expedition? Columbus is pictured as an able navigator, to whom Martin Alonzo Pinzón was a hindrance rather than an aid. Scholars

are nearly unanimously agreed that the Genoese was a mediocre navigator, even for his time. The author is in error regarding the line of demarcation. Pope Alexander VI. did not "with remarkable impartiality" shift the arbitrary line to 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. This was accomplished by the Treaty of Tordesillas. Students of Spanish exploration in the Americas will be surprised to read that

The armies of conquistadors who carried civilization later from the Atlantic to the Pacific, lived on the great droves of swine descended from the eight pigs that Columbus took on his second voyage.

In placing a final estimate on Mr. Walsh's *Isabella of Spain*, the reviewer is constrained to make use of the biographer's own words applied to Henry Charles Lea's *Spanish Inquisition*, "He is so violently prejudiced that his conclusions are untrustworthy". It is extremely doubtful whether the gains to historical science and to the Catholic Church through the publication of this book will be nearly commensurate with the evident labors involved in its preparation.

J. LLOYD MECHAM.

University of Texas.

Porto Rico, a Caribbean Isle. By RICHARD JAMES VAN DEUSEN and ELIZABETH KNEIPPLE VAN DEUSEN. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, [c. 1931.] Pp. [8], 342. Illus. \$3.50.)

Porto Rico: a Broken Pledge. By BAILEY W. and JUSTINE WHITE FIELD DIFFIE. ["Studies in American Imperialism", edited by Harry Elmer Barnes.] (New York: The Vanguard Press, [c. 1931.] Pp. xxxv, 252. \$1.50.)

Two candidly written books upon the same subject more unlike in approach, attitude, and conclusions than these are would be difficult to find. They illustrate strikingly the weight of subjective factors in descriptive and interpretative writing.

Captain and Mrs. Van Deusen know Porto Rico and its people more intimately than do Doctor Diffie and his coadjutor and they are conscious of no mission to prove a thesis. Their personal equation comes from long social and official contact and expresses sympathetic understanding rather than zeal for social or political reform. Loving Porto Rico as it is, they see it as an island rich in legend, romance,

scenic beauty, and cultural traditions. They portray excellently these aspects of its life and history, though at times, especially in appraising historical and literary personalities, with a heightened touch that betrays their close association with their environment. As a result their volume, which is the more attractive piece of book-making of the two, is most engaging reading.

Mrs. Van Deusen's long connection with educational work in Porto Rico, during which she wrote several books of literary merit about the island, and her husband's seven years' service as secretary of the governor, have made their factual material so familiar that it flows smoothly into a current of pleasing narrative. No other succinct account of Indian life before Columbus, of the epoch of discovery and settlement, and of the four centuries of Spanish sovereignty, excels that in the first three chapters of this volume. Two chapters follow reviewing the period of American rule and describing the political organization of the island, after which we are given in some thirty pages a description of the people and their life and customs that, while not blinking facts, conveys a very different impression from that left after reading Doctor Diffie's study.

Nearly one-half of the volume is devoted to religious and cultural life, education, and a final chapter upon places of historical and scenic interest. Some repetitions occur here, due partly to the topical organization of material and partly to joint authorship, but they are allusive rather than discursive and do not burden the text excessively. The illustrations are well chosen and reproduced and a map, which Doctor Diffie's volume unfortunately lacks, precedes the bibliography and index. Altogether this is one of the best books that has been published upon the island for the visitor and casual sightseer. While entertaining it is not superficial within the compass of its theme, and being written *con amore* and with an insight that can not be approached by an outsider, it captures aspects of truth that escape the latter. It helps to explain why the common people of Porto Rico, despite economic hardship, usually prefer to stay at home.

Porto Rico: a Broken Pledge, since it contains an indictment in its title, naturally invites discussion. Harry Elmer Barnes introduces the book with a short essay on American imperialism and a word about the series of which it forms a part. Ten chapters of text describe the progress of Porto Rico—considered simply as movement through time

—from the American occupation down to the present, the staple industries, public utilities, tariff, overpopulation and labor, the desire for independence, and the unhappy fruition of our country's sins—at least of omission—in the community as it exists today. As described by these visitors, Captain and Mrs. Van Deusen would hardly recognize their home and neighbors.

The term American imperialism begs the whole question of tropical development and interprets a dynamic process as a static evil. That is why its challengers so often end in barren criticism rather than constructive proposals, and incline—by implication at least—to contrast a horrid present with a mythical golden past. Doctor Diffie's exposition does not entirely escape this. He seems to hark back to a former peasant economy, antedating the plantation system, which he regrets even if he would not restore. This may explain why, in discussing land in food crops, for example, he forgets to allow for intercropping and alternate cropping with coffee and tobacco, which play an appreciable part in the subsistence of the people. Nor is it pointed out that the maximum area ever recorded in food crops was planted during the World War without curtailing the already extensive staple crops. The fact that small independent landowners generally prefer to plant cash crops like cane and tobacco to raising corn and sweet potatoes is not mentioned. The wages—including field and factory—paid to Porto Rican laborers per acre of cane or tobacco are probably more than the cash value of any subsistence crop that could be raised, whether on small freeholds or big plantations, on an equal area. In a word, Porto Rican agriculture obeys the same economic laws as farming on the mainland. Markets determine profits, and profits determine land utilization.

Local food production has been adversely affected during the past twenty years by the banana blight, which has considerably lessened a very important source of subsistence in the coffee country, where this plant is used for shade. On the other hand the diversification of employment, which largely accounts for the improvement in the condition of the average inhabitant of the island since 1898, has been made possible largely by the extension of highly capitalized agriculture. That development has its drawbacks, but the net result has been to ameliorate the condition of the workers. A person who knew the

island at all well in 1899 and thirty years later needs no figures to prove that fact.

While the existing tariff and shipping laws, which come in for sweeping condemnation, doubtless could be amended so as to consult the welfare of Porto Rico better than any laws designed primarily for the mainland of the United States, there is probably not an island in the West Indies, including Cuba, which does not envy our little dependency its present fiscal status. We recall no mention by the author of the fact that all customs duties collected in Porto Rico, amounting to about \$2,000,000 a year, go into the insular treasury, and would have to be replaced by additional local taxes were they abolished. In fact, the numerous and important fiscal favors which the federal government shows the island are overlooked. Similar oversights occur in comparing food costs now and before the American occupation. Not only was the island provisioned in no slight degree, during the Spanish régime, from the United States, over a tariff wall which does not exist for the same commodities today, but local consumption taxes were levied upon the food of the laborer which burdened his budget out of all proportion to his income.

Further instances might be cited where the authors seem to have skimmed one scale of the balance to overload the other in appraising the results of thirty years of United States rule in Porto Rico. Yet one must assent to their contention that this rule has not wrought as many blessed miracles for the common people as some mainland officials have claimed. They point out real evils and grievances, some of which are of a kind not unknown in other parts of the United States. But they have measured Porto Rican conditions with a mainland yardstick. Rarely in the tropics do we find a peasantry or a praedial proletariat that is better off than the *jibaros* and the field hands of Porto Rico. Wages and general labor conditions are better than in most of the neighboring islands. Public services, such as schools, roads, and hospitals, are more adequate; and they have been supplied in the most part by the people of the country. What might have happened if the dependency had remained a Spanish colony or had become independent is pure speculation. The reviewer believes that the condition of the common people would have been worse than it is today. The best land was as much monopolized by large private owners in 1898 as it is in 1932 by big plantations. The gulf between

master and servant was as wide as it is now. Organized welfare work for the humbler classes was more pitifully inadequate than it is at present, and there was little of the spirit that finds expression in such directions. Labor was prohibited by drastic laws from combining for its own betterment. Patriarchal reminiscences of the former slave economy survived here and there, but they were mere vanishing traces. Initiative and the technique of progress have come from the United States, though in no small part through the hands of Porto Ricans.

In 1898, America's war fever begot visions similar to those of two decades later. We thought we were saving a world for democracy and blessing the oppressed with self-determination. Our public men, and our army and navy officers—not yet hard boiled by overseas' experience—imagined that by some magic like that the preceding generation had attributed to the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, we could suddenly make over Spain's former subjects into our own image. We promised more than we could fulfil. They may thank us for some aspects of our failure. Whatever they may think of our political system, they are uncomfortable under the preponderant monetary power of our economic system. Dr. Diffie and his associate, stimulated by this dissatisfaction, measure the difference between these early promises of ours and what we have achieved, and call it a broken pledge. Literally, they are right. But Captain and Mrs. Van Deusen, with their happier conclusions, have likewise caught a true message from Porto Rico.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

Library of Congress.

The Northern Republics of South America. Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela. By KENNETH G. GRUBB. (London: World Dominion Press, 1931. Pp. 151. Maps. \$2.00.)

Paraguay. Its Cultural Heritage, Social Conditions, and Educational Problems. By ARTHUR ELWOOD ELLIOTT. (New York: Teachers College, 1931. Pp. xiv, 210. \$2.50.)

Both of these volumes concern Protestant missionary and church activities in South America, and both are written with rather definite a priori conceptions. The first volume by Mr. Grubb, who is the author of other books published by the World Dominion Movement, is

the kind of literature which most Hispanic Americans do not like and which, in consequence, makes for ill-feeling toward the United States and its religious imperialism.

The work of organized Protestant missions began about a generation ago in both Ecuador and Venezuela, while in Colombia the work is still in its infancy. Ecuador, according to Mr. Grubb, has now been quite completely covered by evangelistic missions, as has Venezuela, although in the latter state there are about ten times as many communicants as in the former. But this percentage represents only about 2,310 individuals out of a total population in Venezuela of some 3,000,000 people. In fact some may be startled to learn that out of nearly 13,000,000 inhabitants in the three states there are only about 4,000 communicants all told. While such facts offer concrete proof of the apparent uselessness of attempting to establish foreign missions in certain parts of South America, the editor of the *World Dominion Survey* believes that there is cause for rejoicing even in this number, and he states that plans are being made to begin "a much more aggressive evangelistic work" in these countries.

Mr. Grubb's volume is divided into three parts each dealing with one of the states. In each section are found some general and frequently aimless remarks about the history, and the social and economic affairs; and religious conditions are considered in the light of possible evangelizing of the people. An appendix of thirteen parts containing tabulated statistics deals with evangelistic occupation and missions, and with the work of Bible societies. Five valuable maps and a poor index complete the work. For the general student of Hispanic American affairs, this volume will have little appeal despite the fact that it contains much valuable miscellaneous information of a social nature.

The second book is more scholarly and less proselyting in character, owing largely to the fact that it is a dissertation. As stated in the introduction this work surveys

Paraguay's outlook as to health, economic conditions, social organization and educational accomplishments, and upon the basis of facts found [it aims] to determine as accurately as possible what the objectives of a mission school in Paraguay should be, measuring these with the best objectives of present-day public education in the United States.

In a word this thesis is a brief study in missionary education in Paraguay based upon the questionable premise "that missionary effort

seeks to supplement public effort in the countries where it is undertaken."

Pursuing this a priori concept, the author reviews the history of Paraguay briefly, and examines the health of its people, their economic and social life, and their public and private education. Although the treatment in several chapters (particularly X, XI, XII) is theoretical in nature a very good picture is presented of contemporary Paraguayan life. There are no maps and no index, but a useful working bibliography and forty-six statistical tables add considerable value to the study.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.

Jamaica of To-day. By A. HYATT VERRILL. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1931. Pp. xii, 232. \$2.50.)

West Indies of To-day. By A. HYATT VERRILL. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1931. Pp. viii, 298. \$2.50.)

Just forty years ago Frederick A. Ober, a then well-known writer on the West Indies, published *In the Wake of Columbus*. In 1923, Mr. A. Hyatt Verrill, known today by his numerous books on the West Indies, published in the same spirit *In the Wake of the Buccaneers*. Mr. Verrill has just published *West Indies of To-day* and *Jamaica of To-day*, which take the place of his earlier work *The Book of the West Indies*, which appeared in 1917.

For years Mr. Verrill has been bringing to the notice of his fellow-countrymen in a suitable manner the beauties and other attractions of the West Indies as a winter resort, which he is well able to do owing to his almost lifelong residence in the neighbourhood of the Caribbean, from the jungle to the sea coast; and when he is not doing scientific work he uses his pen to the advantage of the general reader. With Mr. Verrill in America and Sir Algernon Aspinall in England singing their praises, the Isles of the Antilles should with each succeeding year receive more visitors of the English-speaking races, and perchance more settlers.

In his earlier work, Mr. Verrill included Bermuda in the West Indies: now he has omitted it. This accords with the views of the Bermudians, who, except when it pleases them to join in West Indian

conferences, ever maintain that they do not belong to the West Indies. Their arms are, however, included with those of the West Indian colonies in the badge of the West India committee. Mr. Verrill has also omitted the Greater Antilles in his new work on the West Indies; but without them the title *The West Indies of To-day* is a little misleading.

Both volumes contain picturesque descriptive writing of scenery and conditions in the various islands and are freely illustrated with well-selected and well-executed reproductions of photographs. Mr. Verrill's historical statements are not quite accurate: and some of his deductions are open to question. He says that "freeing the blacks spelled the doom of the islands". If he would seriously compare the state of Jamaica at the time of emancipation with the present condition of its inhabitants, he would surely not persist in this statement. One is surprised to find that a writer who has professedly followed "in the wake of the Buccaneers" should be ignorant of the latter days of one of the chief of them—Sir Henry Morgan. Mr. Verrill says:

But at last so many complaints of his dishonesty, his cruelty and his despotic administration reached England that Morgan was stripped of his position and was recalled to England. What his ultimate end may have been is not positively known. It has been claimed that he lived and died quite peacefully under an assumed name in England; it has been stated on seemingly good authority that he settled in the American colonies where he was unknown; still another version is that he resumed his piratical career and was killed in an engagement; while still another relates that he was lured to a forsaken spot by one of his old shipmates and was spread-eagled upon the shore below high-water mark where he was left to die a thousand deaths as the waters slowly rose—the most appropriate even if least plausible fate of all.

Now in the first place, though Morgan was superseded in the government of Jamaica, he was never recalled to England: indeed he was after a time replaced in the council from which he had been removed. Secondly, though he quotes Sir Hans Sloane's work, Mr. Verrill is evidently unaware that Sloane attended Morgan in his latter days and refers to his case under the initials "H.M." Nor has he discovered that Morgan's death is recorded in the Record Office in Spanish-Town and that his burial on the Palisadoes is recorded in the log of the captain of H.M.S. *Assistance*, which had brought the Duke of Albemarle to Jamaica, and was destined to convey his body and his mad widow escorted by Sloane, back to England.

Mr. Verrill paints Morgan's character in very black colors, relying on Esquemelin's account of the Buccaneers, and ignoring the fact that Morgan prosecuted for libel the publisher of an English edition of the work, and secured a verdict and damages. Mr. Verrill says further, "I have never heard of a street, place, square, lane, road, court, avenue or even a mews named after Sir Henry Morgan." He has apparently never heard of Morgan's Valley.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Verrill makes no acknowledgment of the source of much of his information and of the map in *Jamaica of To-day*.

FRANK CUNDALL.

Kingston, Jamaica.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Professor Cecil Jane, of London, England, who, it will be remembered, was special lecturer at Wellesley College in 1930, died suddenly of acute pneumonia, on February 15, 1932. For a number of years, Professor Jane had read history at Oxford and for seven years had been professor of history at the University of Wales. He had resigned this latter position to give his time to the study of Columbus and had made himself an authority on the life and voyages of the discoverer. His studies had already borne fruit in *The Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (London, The Argonaut Press, 1930) and the first volume of a series of four volumes, namely, *Select Documents illustrating the four Voyages of Columbus* (London, Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1930). Volume II. of this important series will soon be issued from the press but with the introduction only partly written. It is to be hoped that the other two volumes of the series will also be published, even without the introductions which Professor Jane was so well qualified to write. He brought to his work a new point of view formed by a broad scholarship. This REVIEW had the honor to publish two of his critical essays on Columbus, each of which take high rank for their sustained historical criticism. He was to have written a volume on Columbus for the Oxford University Press. It is understood that Professor Jane was to begin some important new work at about the time of his death. It is hoped that his notes are in such shape that none of his work will be lost and that they will eventually be published. To those who knew him, the death of Professor Jane is a personal loss as well as a loss for scholarship.

In the death of Juan Zorrilla de San Martín on November 4, 1931, Uruguay not only lost one of its most brilliant literary figures but also a devoted public servant. Though Zorrilla de San Martín was by profession a lawyer he will chiefly be remembered as a poet, teacher, diplomat and historian. His public career was a long and distinguished one. He was Uruguayan minister to Spain and France and for a time was member of the Hague Tribunal. He was founder and president of the Instituto Histórico y Geográfico del Uruguay. At

various times he was a member of the faculty of the University of Montevideo. Among his best known writings are *La Leyenda patria*, *Tabaté*, and above all, *La Epopeya de Artigas*. This last work, published in two volumes in 1910, is a glorification of Uruguay's national hero. Though written in a rhapsodic strain it presents a fairly accurate picture of the great *caudillo* and thanks to its vivid and colorful style has become a classic in Uruguayan literature.—P. A. M.

On the completion of twenty-five years of propaganda against "North-American imperialism" the Argentine writer Manuel Ugarte was the recipient of a number of tributes from his Hispanic American friends. Among these tributes is an interesting biography and appreciation by the Ecuadorian writer Cesar E. Arroyo, *Manuel Ugarte* (Paris, 1931). Ugarte will be remembered as the author of *El Porvenir de la América Latina*, *La Patria Grande*, *Mi Campaña Hispano-americana*, and *El Destino de un Continente*. An English translation of this last work, edited with an introduction by Professor J. Fred Rippy, was published in 1925.—P. A. M.

As a result of the visit of a number of English university undergraduates to Argentina under the leadership of Mr. Philip Guedalla, there have been created at Oxford University two "Prince of Wales Fellowship". These fellowships are open to students from the University of Buenos Aires for a period of two years. In general, they carry the same stipend and privileges of the Rhodes Scholarships on which they are modeled. In this connection it is interesting to note that Mr. Guedalla while in Buenos Aires delivered two lectures under the titles of "Great Britain and Argentine Independence", and "Wellington and Argentine History". It is to be hoped that the English or Spanish text of these lectures, of which résumés appear in *La Nación* for September 5th and 13th, 1931, will be rendered available.—P. A. M.

The *Minutes of the Eleventh Regular Meeting* of the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission, which was held at Dallas, Texas, May 18, 1931, contains much of interest relative to Texas material in Mexican archives. Among other items, the report of Carlos E. Castañeda, Latin American Librarian of the University of Texas, de-

serves study. With the coöperation of the University and of the commission he was able to carry on important investigation in the archives of Mexico and has brought to light many materials for the history of Texas. In connection with the work of the commission, it is of interest to note that Dr. Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., has been appointed special investigator of the old Spanish documents relating to the history of Texas—an excellent choice. Continuous work is planned in various Mexican archives; and Dr. Steck will pay special attention to the exploration, settlement, and expansion of the Spanish era, the missions, their development and decline, and secularization, the Mexican régime, the Texas revolution, and the Texan declaration of independence. He will be assisted by Rev. Gabriel Tous, O. P.

Sr. Don Juan Tamayo y Francisco, for some time an archivist in the Archivo de Indias, was appointed chief of those archives by ministerial order of January 10, 1932, vice the former chief who was transferred to a similar position in the archives at Simancas.

The seventh international congress of historical sciences will be held in Warsaw, August 21-28, 1933. Institutions and historians intending to participate in the meetings are requested to forward forms of membership to the organizing committee before January 1, 1933. The subscription fee is \$4.00 for active members and \$2.00 for each other person accompanying an active member. Contributions to the work of the congress will be by reports, papers, and discussions, for each of which definite rules have been established. Contributions may be submitted in English, French, German, Italian, or Spanish. The bureau of the organizing committee consists of Halvdan Koht, professor at the University of Oslo, president of the international committee; Michael Lhéritier, professor at the school of social studies of Paris, secretary general of the international committee; Bronislaw Dembinski, professor at the University of Poznan, vice-president of the international committee, president of the organizing committee; and Tadeusz Manteuffel, assistant professor at the University of Warsaw, secretary general of the organizing committee. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Uruguay are already represented in the international committee or on national committees. The second circular has just been issued. The third circular will be sent only to members.

The Department of Historical Research of The Carnegie Institution of Washington has issued a "List of Doctoral Dissertations in History now in Progress at the chief American Universities, December, 1931." Thirty-six theses touching Hispanic America are listed; but this probably does not exhaust the list of doctoral theses in course of preparation.

Dr. Fernando Ortiz, editor of *Revista Bimestre Cubana* and of *Revista Folklore Cubana* delivered an address at the meeting of the committee on cultural relations with Latin America held at Town Hall Club, New York City, on November 8, 1931, on "American Responsibilities for Cuba's Troubles." This thoughtful address has been issued in mimeographed form.

The Pan American Union has issued in mimeographed form a report of the "Activities of the Division of Intellectual Coöperation, Pan American Union, during 1930-31". The division furnishes information on educational matters, fosters interchange of books written in Spanish braille among blind readers in Spanish-American countries; fosters interchange of professors between American republics; encourages the study of English in Hispanic America by students of the several republics who desire to study in the United States; encourages the study of Hispanic American history in the United States; helps to arrange lectures in various American countries; coöperates with various agencies interested in one or more phases of the history and life of Hispanic America; and performs various other functions.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

THE MIER ARCHIVES

Among the manuscripts which have lately come into the possession of the University of Texas is a collection, consisting of some 1,000 folios, of the papers of Doctor José Servando Teresa de Mier Noriega y Guerra, a fearless, independent, and constructive thinker, who played an important part in the struggle for Mexican independence. Since Mier was a man of culture who was at home in Mexico, Spain, France, Italy, England, and the United States, his papers have more than a local interest, for some of the documents—of an unofficial, intimate type—contribute items of historical, social, and literary interest.

The whole career of this man reads like a story book. Born in Monterey in 1763, Mier was educated there and in the Mexican capital. After taking the habit of a Dominican at sixteen, he devoted himself to an intensive study of philosophy and theology. His reputation for scholarship was such that he was asked in 1794 by the archbishop of Mexico to preach the sermon on Guadalupe day, December 12. After much study, Mier preached a sermon which made history, for in it he attempted to set forth the conclusions which had been reached by historical investigators in regard to the legendary appearance of the Virgen at Tepeyac. At once he was accused of denying the divine origin of the patron saint of Mexico; he was tried by an ecclesiastical court, found guilty, and exiled to Spain. For almost ten years he was either a prisoner or in hiding, often being subjected to both physical and mental torture. His uncanny facility in making friends enabled him to effect frequent escapes, but regularly he was brought back to be placed under closer watch. Through the efforts of Muñoz, the charges against him were investigated by the Academia de

la Historia which found them groundless; the Consejo, nevertheless, ruled in favor of the archbishop. After finally escaping from Spain in disguise, Mier joined with Simón Rodríguez [Samuel Robinson, pseud.], the former tutor of Bolívar, in opening a school of languages in Paris, and there Mier claims that he made the first Spanish translation of Chateaubriand's *Atala*, although it appeared under the name of Robinson. In 1802, he went to Rome where he was secularized. On his return to Spain after a lengthy residence in Italy, where he was intimately associated with some of the leading writers of the day, he became a chaplain in the Spanish army then in action against the French, was again imprisoned, but escaped first to Portugal and then to England. In London, in 1811, he began the publication of his *Cartas de un Americano* and in 1812-1813 he issued there his *Revolucion de México*, the first publication which aroused general interest abroad in the cause of Hispanic American independence. Convinced, from his too intimate acquaintance with the Spanish régime, of the necessity of separation of the colonies from the mother country, Mier threw himself whole-heartedly into the cause, and soon gathered around him in London kindred spirits fired with a like enthusiasm. Among these was Francisco Mina, who was induced by Mier to lead an expedition in behalf of Mexico. With him, Mier sailed for the United States, but they were both much disappointed to find, upon their arrival in Baltimore, that little assistance was to be hoped for from the government of the United States. Nothing daunted, Mier secured, on the basis of personal influence, \$120,000 from Daniel Smith for the purpose of financing the expedition. In the fall of 1816, they left for the Gulf; the winter was spent on Galveston Island; and early in the spring the expedition sailed for the Mexican coast. At Sota la Marina, Mina divided his force; the larger group he took with him on an expedition into the interior; the others, including Mier, were left on the coast, where they were soon after captured by royalist forces. Most of the men were

promptly shot; but Mier, since he was a native of the region and well known, was put in irons and sent overland to Vera Cruz. He remained a prisoner in the hands of the Inquisition until the close of 1820; during that interval he was writing his *Memorias* and *Idea de la Constitución*, and racking his brain with schemes to secure his own escape and to further the independence movement; instead, early in 1821, he was ordered deported to Spain. At Havana, he escaped, made his way to the United States, lived in Philadelphia several months, and then returned to Mexico which had, in the meantime, achieved independence. He was elected a deputy from his native state to congress and served in that capacity, except for intervals of imprisonment and persecution, until his death in December, 1827.

The career of Mier and the value of his *Memoirs* have not escaped the notice of historians. A sketch of his life and a portion of the *Memoirs* were published in 1876 by Dr. José Eleuterio González in Monterey, and there reprinted in 1897. This portion was again reprinted in Madrid in 1917[?] by Alfonso Reyes. In neither, however, has the period of Mier's life covered by the manuscripts in the Texas collection been treated in detail. Especially, has an episode in which Mier unwittingly became involved during his stay in Philadelphia in 1821 escaped notice. Out of this controversy came several pamphlets written by, to, and about Mier, none of which has been included or referred to in the bibliography compiled by either González or Reyes.

The storm center of this incident was William Hogan who had been appointed to the rectorship of St. Mary's church in Philadelphia in April, 1820. In December of that year, he was suspended without explanation by Bishop Conwell. As most of the congregation were devoted to Hogan, a schism ensued. After three articles written by Hogan in his own defense remained unanswered, the congregation voted that he should preach again on May 13, 1821. At once a storm of protest

arose from the episcopal party. Early in June, Mier reached Philadelphia, and was asked almost immediately by Hogan to answer certain queries relating to canon law and precedent in similar cases. Without hesitation, Mier replied in Latin, although he stated frankly that, as he did not have his books with him, he was depending entirely upon his memory for the facts and authorities cited. His replies were so entirely in line with the contentions of the suspended rector that the trustees secured permission to translate them into English and to publish them. This twelve-page pamphlet, *The Opinions of the Rt. Reverend Servandus A. Mier . . .*, brought the Mexican prelate at once into the limelight.

In no time the controversy became personal. In an anonymous pamphlet of eight pages, *Remarks on the Opinion of the Right Reverend Servandus A. Mier*, issued from the press of Bernard Dornen, Mier was termed an impostor, and his replies characterized as ignorant and ridiculous. Never one to submit tamely, Mier replied on August 11 with *A Word relative to an anonymous Pamphlet printed in Philadelphia*, in which he stated that he was a stranger in Philadelphia, knew none of the contending parties, had never been inside St. Mary's church at the time he answered the questions, and had no idea then that the replies would be printed. He made clear the fact that he was not an impostor, but a scholar whose experience with canon law had convinced him that justice did not always prevail.

Others then entered the ranks. The trustees of St. Mary's publicly thanked Mier, but William Harold attacked him both as a man and an ecclesiastic. In turn, Richard Meade, who knew Spain well, having been imprisoned there for participation in liberal politics, published, on October 22, 1823 an *Address to the Roman Catholics of . . . Philadelphia*, in which he included a letter from José A. Torrens, chargé d'affaires of Mexico, certifying to the character and official position of Dr. Mier. In the meantime that gentleman, with the help of

Vicente Rocafuerte, who soon after became the Mexican representative in London and later the president of Ecuador, had published two works in defense of republican government in Mexico, the *Memoria politico-instructiva* . . . and the *Breve relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, of which copies were soon widely circulated. Within a few months Mier started for the Mexican capital to take his place as an elected deputy. Hogan was eventually excommunicated and, after a bitter struggle, left the church.

The appended calendar of a portion of the Mier archives will give some idea of its range and value. The printed works both by and about Mier have not been included in former bibliographies.

I. THE MIER ARCHIVES¹

Ituarte, Angel, [Puebla], January 2, 1820, to Mier. Sends letter and 12 pieces of printing from J. N. Troncoso by Gómez, who will bring answer. A. L. S.

Folio 1

Mier y [Lastra]?, Maria Guadalupe Emilia, [Havana] January 9, 1820, to Mier.

Personal and family matters. Conde de Medina is José Maxiamo Morelos.

Writer is with madrina, Gertrude Sánchez. A. L. S.

F. 2

Same, February 13, 1820, to Mier. Knows that Mier will embark shortly for Havana; news of Ignacio Salazar, Marquesa de Sierra Madre, Villaseñor, and wife of Bustamante. A. L. S.

F. 4

Spain. Ferdinand VII. Decree abolishing Inquisition. Copy dated March 9, 1820.

F. 6

Catholic Church. Inquisition. Transfer of Mier to civil authorities. 2 copies dated May 30, 1820. Printed in Hernández y Dávalos, *Col. de doc.* VI. 923-926.

F. 8

Spain. Ferdinand VII. Proclamation of amnesty. Copy dated July 9, 1820.

F. 15

Flores Alatorre, Felix. List of Mier's property turned over by Inquisition. Copy dated September 6, 1820.

F. 16

Navarro, José, Vera Cruz, September 10, 1820 to Mier. Transmitting letter from [José Dávila] relative to deporting Mier. A. L. S.

F. 17

¹ In the interest of brevity, the single word *Mier* is used throughout for José Servando Teresa de Mier Noriega y Guerra, and his place of residence is omitted. It was as follows: January 2-15, 1821, at San Juan de Ulloa; late January to last of April, in Havana; June 1 to about September 20, at Philadelphia; October, 1821 to January, 1822, at New York; February 12 to May, 1822, at San Juan de Ulloa; and thereafter at Mexico City. After being once given in full, other names are also abbreviated. As a means of location, the folio number of each document as now arranged is given.

- Catholic Church. Pope Pius VII. Brief, 3-30-19. Copy dated September 16, 1820. F. 19
- Navarro, J., September 29, 1820, to Mier. Transmitting order of viceroy to José Dávila to return effects of Mier. L. S. F. 20
- Same to same. Transmitting order for deportation of Mier. L. S. F. 22
- Valle, L. M., Havana, October [3?], to Mier. Introducing Agustín Peralta. Will issue "La verdad desenvuelta" soon; will send prospectus. A. L. S. F. 24
- Mier Noriega, F[rancisco] de P[aula] Monterey, October 7, 1820, to Mier. Conditions in Monterey; family news. A. L. S. F. 26
- Respuestas y representaciones del Dor. Dn. Servando Teresa de Mier al Sor. Gobernador de Vera Cruz, al Sor. Virey Apodaca, al Provisor y Vicaro. genl. del arzobo. de Mexico Alatorre y a la Junta provincial con los oficios correspondientes de los susodichos. October 10, 1820. Consists of copies of ten letters, September 11-October 10, 1820, regarding liberty or deportation of Mier. F. 29
- Valle, L. M., Havana, October 12, 1820, to Mier. Send by Francisco de Aguirre a prospectus of paper of which Peralta has informed Mier. A. L. S. F. 62
- S., J., Mexico, October 15, 1820, to Mier. Advises of death of Marquis de San Miguel de Aguayo; Berduzco is at liberty; has given letters and money to Marquis of Apartado and taken receipt. A. L. S. F. 63
- Lugo y Luna, J. de, Mexico, October 22, 1820, to Mier. Has seen letter brought by Domingo [Velasco?]. Conversation between writer and Mier had been overheard; recounts experiences since. Berduzco will carry correspondence. A. L. S. F. 64
- Vidal y Pivon, Maria I., Mexico, October 29, 1820, to Mier. Recounts deaths and marriages in family. A. L. S. F. 66
- Mier, M. G. E., Mexico, November 20, 1820, to Mier. Family news. A. L. S. F. 70
- Berduzco, J[osé] S[ixto], Mexico, November 21, 1820, to Mier. Reports regaining liberty on November 8. A. L. S. F. 72
- Dugue, Juan, [Mexico?], November 22, 1820, to Mier. Recounts friendship. L. S. F. 73
- [Mier], December 4, 1820, to Junta provincial, Mexico. Complains of treatment and demands liberty or deportation. Copy. [Handwriting resembles Bustamante's who may have submitted this draft.] F. 74
- Same to same, December 7, 1820. Contents same as December 9. A. L. S. F. 78
- Same to same, December 9, 1820. Repeats complaints of October 6 that he has not been given his legal right and demands freedom. A. L. S. F. 78
- Same to same, December 9, 1820. Autograph draft of letter of December 7. F. 81
- [Mier], December 15, 1820. Account of experiences from April 21, 1817 to 1820. Copy. Incomplete. Substance agrees with Hernández y Dávalos, VI. 946-950; this account fuller. F. 83
- Valdivielso, J. M. de, Mexico, December 20, 1820, to Mier. Recounts death of Marquis de Aguayo and family news. L. S. F. 86
- Troncoso, J. N., Puebla, December 23, 1820, to Mier. Sends by Ituarte newspapers in which Mier's *Representación* is printed; asks to print *Manifiesto* and to see *Historia*. A. L. S. F. 92

- Mier, M. G. E., December 26, 1820, to Mier. Details of death of her mother and family affairs. A. L. S. F. 93
- Velasco, D., December 27, 1820, to Mier. Waiting to hear whether Mier has embarked. A. L. S. F. 95
- Mier to provisor [Alatorre]. Appeal for return of property taken in 1817. Autograph draft. Incomplete. Undated. F. 97
- Mier. Carta de despedida a los mexicanos. Escrita desde el castillo de San Juan de Ulua. . . . Autograph draft. Incomplete. Undated. Published at Puebla and Mexico, 1821. F. 99
- Mier. Another autograph draft of same. Incomplete. F. 101
- Mier to José Navarro. Protesting against imprisonment and demanding freedom. Autograph draft. Undated. F. 103
- [Mier]. Question politica. Puede ser libre la Nueva España? Autograph draft. Incomplete. F. 105
- [Mier]. Puede ser libre la Nueva España? Arguing for coöperation of U. S. in securing independence. Differs slightly from preceding. Autograph draft. F. 117
- Villaurrutia, Wenceslao, [Havana] to Mier. Conditions in Havana; treatment accorded Infante; has given papers to Luna; comments on intendants of Havana. Undated. A. L. S. F. 124
- [Bustamante, C. M.] to Mier. Sends receipt of official to whom money for Mier's journey has been given. Advises him to feign sickness and stay in Havana until he wishes to leave. Undated. F. 126
- Mier to ?. Asking for freedom. Autograph draft signed. Undated. F. 128

1821

- Algarin del Valle, Maria J., Mexico, January 1, 1821, to Mier. Recounts death of husband, November 20, 1819; hears of Mier through D. Velasco; offers aid. L. S. F. 129
- Macias, J. Antonio, Mexico, January 1, 1821, to Mier. Has received letter of December 9 through Berduzco. Advice to accept amnesty offered on September 17. A. L. S. F. 130
- Marani de Huici, Juana, Mexico, January 2, 1821, to Mier. News of her life, her husband, and children. L. S. F. 132
- Velasco, D., Mexico, January 2, 1821, to Mier. Has communicated contents of December 9 letter to friends. News of others. A. L. S. F. 134
- Mier, January 15, to C. M. de Bustamante. Receipt of Cayetano Pilón of passage money for Mier to leave Vera Cruz on January 15. A. L. S. F. 136
- Rosillo de Mier, Juan, Jalapa, January 22, 1821, to J. N. Troncoso. Asks that copies of imprints be sent Mier, who has left for Havana, and Francisco Mier at Monterey. Asks for suggestions for getting news to him. A. L. S. F. 137
- V[illavicencio], J. de, Mexico, January 31, 1821, to Mier. Has received letter of January 9 announcing departure of Mier on *Galga* for Havana to which this letter is sent care of Wenceslao Villaurrutia. A. L. S. F. 138

- Villaseñor, Juan Ignacio, Mexico, January 31, 1821, to Mier. Author of *Oda al Gato* has read Mier's history and wishes copy, but writer has not dared collect draft. A. L. S. F. 140
- Mier, M. G. E., Mexico, February 1, 1821, to Mier. Receipt for money sent by Mier from Vera Cruz through Hilario Félix de Bustamante. D. S. F. 141
- Rosillo de Mier, J., Jalapa, February 5, 1821, to W. Villaurrutia, Havana. Sends newspapers to Mier. Tells of severe punishment meted out to liberal writers. F. 142
- [?], Ana Maria, February 7, 1821, to Mier. Family news. A. L. S. F. 143
- Huici, J. L. de, Mexico, February 14, to Mier. Has received letter of January 26. Encloses letter from Juana Marani de Huici. L. S. F. 145
- Velasco, D., Mexico, February 14, 1821, to Mier. Has received letters of January 20 and 26. News of family and friends. A. L. S. F. 148
- Mier, M. G. E., Mexico, February 16, 1821. Receipt for jewel sent by Mier. D. S. F. 150
- Mier, February [17], to J. M. Cagigal, Havana. On margin of letter is certificate of José María del Vando, physician of the *Galga*, stating that the health of Mier demanded his removal from boat. A. L. S. F. 151
- Troncoso, J. N., Puebla, February 21, 1821, to Mier. Has received two letters and *Carta despedida*. Reports on printing done and proposed. Wants to print *Historia*. L. S. F. 152
- [Villaurrutia, W.], Havana, March 5, 1821, to Mier. O'Donoju has been named viceroy and is on way to Vera Cruz. Has made arrangements to have transfer to San Ambrosio made where Mier will have good accommodations. A. L. F. 152a
- [?], Jalapa, March 30, 1821, Artícule de carta de una persona residente in Guatepec en las inmediaciones de la villa de Xalapa. F. 153
- Vesandio?, Pedro, [Jalapa?] April 1, 1821, to L. M. del Valle. A. L. S. F. 156
- [Same?] Guatepec, April 15, 1821, to same, Havana. Unsigned. F. 158
- Mahy, Nicolas, Havana, April 17, 1821, to Mier. Advises of order to transport Mier to Spain on man-of-war *Pronta*. D. S. F. 161
- Bustamante, C. M. de, Vera Cruz, April 18, 1821, to Mier. Plans for Mier's escape. A. L. S. F. 162
- [Vesandio, Pedro?], Vera Cruz, April 23, 1821, to L. M. del Valle. Unsigned. F. 163
- [?], Vera Cruz, April 24, 1821, to [?]. Describes conditions after treaty of Iguala. Unsigned. At head in same handwriting "*Carta de un Español*". F. 165
- Carta dirigida al Dn. P. Labrador y metido a historiador político sobre la que se insertó en el *Diario de Vera Cruz* de 28 de April de 1821, núm. 118. Unsigned. F. 166
- Vesandio, P., Vera Cruz, April 30, to L. M. del Valle. Rubrica. F. 172
- Mier to J. M. Cagigal, Havana. Asking for justice. Account of persecutions from 1817 to 1821. Undated. On stamped paper of 1820. A. D. F. 174
- Same to same. Unsigned. A. D. F. 177

- Same to same. Reviews events since 1817. Asks for trial or freedom. Unsigned.
A. D. F. 180
- [Mier] to editors of *El Noticioso*, Havana. Concerning an article about Mier in late issue; also refers to one in no. 3270, of September 17, 18[20]. Unsigned.
A. D. F. 181
- Mier's notes on events in Mexico from 12th of March to April 30th, 1821. A. D.
F. 185
- Vesania, P., Vera Cruz, May 12, 1821, to L. M. del Valle, Havana. Recounts events in Mexico. Plan of Iguala. A. L. S. F. 189
- Mier's notes, prepared apparently for publication, on events in Mexico in 1821. Undated. A. D. F. 191
- Mier's *La America justificada en su revolucion*. Survey of revolution in Mexico and situation since plan of Iguala. Undated. A. D. F. 195
- [?], Vera Cruz, June 12, 1821, to Mier. Has received letter for himself and Troncoso. Gives conditions around Vera Cruz. Only largest cities remain in royalist hands. Unsigned. A. L. F. 201
- Mier, Philadelphia, June 20, 1821, to Charlotte Stephenson, London. Advises of survival of remains of Mina expedition; is now free and in U. S. Wrote them in 1816 but has heard nothing. A. L. S. F. 203
- Mier, Philadelphia, June 27, 1821, to William Hogan. Latin text. Replies to questions submitted by Hogan. A. L. S. F. 204
- Same to same. A. D. Unsigned. F. 206
- Fragment of same. Unsigned. F. 210
- Carey and Sons, Philadelphia to Mier. Estimate for printing 1000 copies of 150 pages at \$82.25 without paper. D. S. F. 211
- Mecenas, [?], Saratoga, July 8, 1821, to Mier. No benefits from the water in 19 days. Will assist in financing publication as soon as expected remittances arrive. A. L. S. F. 212
- Hurtel, Juan F., Philadelphia, July 16, 1821, to Mier. Receipt for paper for printing *La Destrucion de las Indias*. D. S. F. 214
- Fernández, Juan F., Mexico, July 17, 1821, to Mier. Account of conditions in Mexico. Will forward 100 *duros* to assist his return to Mexico. A. L. S. F. 215
- Mecenas, [?], Saratoga, July 22, 1821, to Mier. Regrets inability to assist Mier financially. A. L. S. F. 216
- St. Mary's Congregation, Philadelphia, July 28, 1821. Signed by Joseph Dugan, John Leamy, John Ashley, trustees. Congratulates Mier on replies to William Hogan. D. S. F. 218
- Hurtel, Juan F., Philadelphia, July 28, 1821, to Mier. Receipt for paper for printing. D. S. [In French.] F. 219
- Same in Spanish. F. 220
- Yhary, Alex., Baltimore, July 30, 1821, to Mier. Confidential. Has received Mier's letter advising of departure. Has no information of Co[nf]teling. Asks financial assistance. A. L. S. [In French.] F. 222
- Same in Spanish. F. 224

- Rocafuerte, Vicente, New York, July 31, to Mier. Has just reached New York. Gives impressions of city, architecture, etc. A. L. S. F. 228
- Mier's Nuevo Discurso sobre la libertad de la patria. In substance agrees with first 80 pages of *Memoria política*. A. S. F. 230
- Mier's account of events in Mexico and his part in them. Means by which he escaped from boat at Havana. A. D. F. 264
- Mier's Noticias del Dr. Mier. An account of his stay in Havana and means by which he escaped from Spaniards and reached the United States. Incomplete. Unsigned. A. D. F. 266
- Mier's Apologia contra las personalidades que se hallan en un papel anónimo acabado de imprimir en Philadelphia intitulado. Remarks on the opinion of the Right Rev. Servandus A. Mier, . . . on certain queries proposed to him by the Rev. William Hogan. Unsigned. A. D. F. 267
- Another autograph draft with title Una Palabra sobre el folleto. . . . Unsigned. F. 271
- Mier's A Word relative to an anonymous pamphlet printed in Philadelphia entitled "Remarks on the opinion of the Right Rev. Servando A. Mier . . . on certain queries. . . ." Copy in English. Revisions and corrections in hand of Mier. F. 274
- Mier to [Juan Leamy]. In regard to translation of *Apología*, in reply to remarks published in a paper in Philadelphia. 3 autograph drafts. Unsigned. F. 280
- D[ahle?], Daniel and Co., to Mier. Receipted bill. D. S. F. 287
- C[havez?], A., Havana, August 1, 1821, to Mier. Conditions in Havana. A. L. S. with initials only.
- Leamy, Juan, Philadelphia, August 2, 1821, to [Mier]. Asks him to correct translation of answer to the Remarks in order that it may be printed. A. L. S. F. 290
- Yhary, Alex., Baltimore, August 8, 1821, to Mier. Wants further information about their projected trip. A. L. S. [In French.] F. 292
- Stephenson, Charlotte, London, August 6, 1821, to Mier. Recounts friendship with Mier during stay in London and personal experiences since. A. L. S. F. 290
- Allchin, George, Philadelphia, August 13, 1821, to Mier. Receipt for binding 500 books, \$16.00. F. 293
- Hurtel, Juan F., Philadelphia, August 14, 1821, to Mier. Wishes to know Mier's decision in regard to publishing his work. A. L. S. [In French.] F. 294
- Bennett and Walton, Philadelphia, August 15, to Mier. Receipted bill for 7 reams medium printing paper, \$28.00. D. S. F. 295
- Mexico. Provincias Internas [Gaspar López] Treaty signed in Monterey, August 16, 1821, between the Comandante General of the Provincias Internas and the Gran Caddo. This copy has introductory remarks by Mier. F. 296
- C[havez], A., Havana, August 21, 1821, to Mier. Full accounts of events in Spain and Mexico as contained in latest letters. Transmits Mier's letter from Mexico. A. L. S. with initials. F. 297
- Yhary, Alex., Baltimore, August 26, 1821, to Mier. Asks for loan of some money. Has discovered some intercepted correspondence of Mina. Offers copies. A. L. S. [In French.] F. 299

- Mier, September 2, 1821, to Pedro Gual. Remits copy of *Memoria* and *Las Casas*, both just published with object of preventing a monarchy in Mexico. Discusses use of term "South America". Advice to Iturbide. A. L. S. F. 310
- Allchin, George, Philadelphia, September 12, 1821, to Mier. Receipted bill for binding 10 volumes in morocco, \$10.00. D. S. F. 303
- Torres, M., Philadelphia, September 17, 1821. Itemized account of printing expenses for *Las Casas* \$270.00. D. S. F. 303
- Yhary, Alex., Baltimore, September 17, 1821, to Mier. Has heard of good news from Mexico and is ready to join Mier in trip there. His experience in service of France will be of benefit; has proven his sincerity in Mina expedition. A. L. S. [In French.] F. 304
- Torres, M., Philadelphia, September 24, 1821, to Mier. Rocafuerte has left for Baltimore. Orders 25 copies of each publication of Mier. News in latest papers from South America. A. L. S. F. 306
- Mecenas, [?], New York, September 29, 1821, to Mier. Is sending *Indicador* requested and will comply with other requests. Assures Mier of his friendship. A. L. S. F. 307
- Crawford, James, Philadelphia, October 14, 1821, to Mier. Advises Mier of accompanying letter of introduction to [William D. Sims] at Pensacola. A. L. S. F. 309
- Same to William D. Sims, Pensacola. Introducing Mier who is on way to Mexico. A. L. S. F. 310
- Torres, M., Philadelphia, October 16, 1821, to Mier. Mier has carried off copy of *Historia de Mexico* and *Gazetas* which he must return. News of Spanish America. A. L. S. F. 312
- Leamy, Juan, Philadelphia, October 17, 1821, to Mier. Is glad Mier has arrived safely at New York. Wishes him luck on trip to New Orleans. Tailor has brought unpaid bill for \$26.50. Wishes to know disposition. A. L. S. F. 313
- Torres, M., Philadelphia, October 18, 1821, to Mier. Refers to books and papers Mier took. Glad he will get steamer to Pensacola. Will send letter of introduction shortly. South American affairs. Conditions in Mexico. A. L. S. F. 314
- Leamy, Juan, Philadelphia, October 20, 1821, to Mier. Mr. Bliss has arrived and repaid \$25.00 lent Mier on departing. Tailor bill will be taken care of. Good wishes for journey. A. L. S. F. 316
- New York *Daily Advertiser*, October 22, 1821. Receipt to Casali for subscription. F. 318
- Torres, M., Philadelphia, October 25, 1821, to Mier. Illness has prevented writing. News of Mexico. Is sending letter of introduction to mayor of Pensacola. Needs of Mexico. A. L. S. F. 319
- Same to Henry Breckenridge, Pensacola, October 28, 1821. Introducing Mier. A. L. S. F. 320
- Same to Mier, October 29, 1821. Sends letter of introduction. Explanation about books taken by Mier. Conditions in South America. A. L. S. with nickname. F. 322

- Same, October 31, 1821, to same. Details of his health. Reviews his career. Conditions in Mexico and South America. Fear of English influence. A. L. S. with nickname. F. 324
- Same, October 31, 1821, to same. Passport for Mier destined for Havana. A. L. S. F. 326
- Chaves, José M., New York, November 3, 1821, to Mier. Regrets can not supply \$250.00 needed for traveling. Expects letter from Gabriel Camacho and will then supply funds. A. L. S. F. 327
- Torres, M., Philadelphia, November 8, 1821, to Mier. Has received letters of 3rd and 6th. Fears Mier, going by New Orleans, will not reach Mexico until after empire is established. Discussion of contending systems in America. Mier did not give writer copy of either book. Regrets having no friends in New Orleans to send letter to. A. L. S. F. 328
- Same, November 18, 1821, to same. Illness. Conditions in South America and Mexico. Reviews late *Gazetas* from Spain. A. L. S. F. 329
- [Mier,] New York, to [José de San Martín?]. Is sending two copies of his publications. Reviews conditions in Spanish America, Mexico in particular. Traces developments since February, 1821. Undated. Incomplete. Unsigned. F. 331
- Rocafuerte, V., Havana, November 18, 1821, to Macedonio Chavez, New York. Reached Havana safely but boxes were a nuisance. Mier has been recommended in Pensacola and is to draw on him for money. A. L. S. F. 335
- Torres, M., Philadelphia, December 11, 1821, to Mier. Has news from Havana of departure of Apodaca and Iturbide's entrance in Mexico City. Discusses recognition of Spanish America by U. S. Bad health. A. L. S. F. 335
- Mecenas, [?], to Mier. Has received Mier's of July 11 through Richard Meade, also a later one. Regrets matter of settlement for the printing of the *Manifiesto* but sickness has interfered. Letters from Havana but no news. Undated. A. L. S. F. 336
- Chaves, José M., New York, to Mier. Cannot help Mier financially until he hears from Havana. A. L. S. Undated. F. 338
- Barry, Eduardo, Frankfort, to Mier. Enclosing an English translation of unnamed document. A. L. S. Undated. F. 339
- Mier's account of life from 1794 to 1821 with views on independence of Mexico. Autograph draft. Undated. F. 340
- Mier's *Memoria política-instructiva*. Autograph draft. Incomplete. Pp. 17-79 of the 1822 edition. F. 387
- Coroma, Brigida, to Father Guzmán de Santa Teresa. Has just heard from Sepedo his condition. Family news. A. L. S. Undated. F. 402
- Cardosa, Ramón, to Mier. Sends the shoes without charges. A. L. S. Undated. F. 403
- Mier, M. E. G., to Mier. Has received fifty dollars sent by Mier. Family news. A. L. S. Undated. F. 404
- Ayala y Perales, Dolores, to Mier, M. G. E. Family news. A. L. A. Undated. F. 406
- [Bustamante, C. M. de], to [Mier]. Attempts to help him. Intimate details of political machinery. Signed with rubrica only. Undated. F. 416-421

1822

- Velásquez de la Cadena, Mariano, Mexico, January 1, 1822, to Mier. Send copy of *Ortografía*. A. L. S. F. 425
- Torres, M., Philadelphia, January 4, 1822, to Mier. Account of conditions in Columbia and Chile. A. L. S. F. 426
- Same to same. January 11, 1822. Regrets Mier did not get off but hopes he will go direct. Conditions in Spanish America; thinks Spain is impotent. Urges that personalities be forgotten and all work for welfare of country. A. L. S. F. 428
- Armas, Manuel de, New York, January 18, 1822, to Mier. Encloses Pinzón power of attorney for steam engine; asks it be delivered. Letters are enclosed for Velásquez and Sartorio. A. L. S. F. 430
- Monterey, Ayuntamiento, January 31, 1822, to the governors of Texas and Nuevo Santander. Notice of election of Mier to Congress. D. S. F. 432
- Villaseñor, Juan Ignacio, Mexico, March 3, 1822, to Manuel Texido. Has received letter enclosing one or Mier; asks that he communicate with Troneoso in Puebla and send trunk of Mier to Guadalupe Emilia but keep books until advised by Mier. A. L. S. F. 433
- Texido, M., to Mier. Transmits preceding and asks that letter be destroyed. Undated. A. L. S. F. 433b
- McClure, David, April 5, 1822, to Mier. Hopes for independence of Mexico; regrets plan of foreign ruler. Torres sick. A. L. S. F. 434
- Santa Catarina. Ayuntamiento, April 18, 1822, to Mexican Congress. Petition concerning collection and disposition of taxes; asks for establishment of schools and rehabilitation of Refugio. D. S. F. 436
- Bustamante, C. M. de, Mexico, May 8, 1822, to Mier. Expresses grief at Mier's imprisonment; is doing all possible to secure release. Is now editor of *Abispa*; Lucas de Palacio is bearer. L. S. and autograph postscript. F. 438
- Llano, [L. R.]? de, Monterey, May 9, 1822, to Juan Bautista de Arispe. Detailed account of conditions in Nuevo León. A. L. S. F. 440
- Mier, [Vera Cruz], May 23, 1822, to M. Torres. Fragment of letter recounting arrival at Vera Cruz on February 23. Autograph draft. Unsigned. F. 442
- Mortimer, Pedro Agustin, Matape, May 25, 1822, to Mier. Recounts life since early days; rejoices at Mier's return. A. L. S. F. 443
- Mier, M. G. E., June 9, 1822, to Mier. Joy at arrival of Mier; family matters and preparations for his arrival. A. L. S. F. 445
- Monterey Ayuntamiento, June 12, 1822, to Mier. Notification of his election as deputy from Nuevo León. D. S. F. 448
- Monterey Ayuntamiento, June 12, 1822, to Jose María Llerena. Enclosing notification to Dr. Mier of his election as deputy. D. S. F. 447
- Mexico, Provincias Internas, Comandante General [Gaspar López] Saltillo, June 15, 1822, to Ayuntamiento of Monterey. Instructions regarding advance payment of deputies in need. (Decree of Iturbide, April 15, 1822.) Certified copy. F. 452
- Recio, Manuel, Mexico, June 17, 1822, to Mier. Galvan has brought out edition of *Memoria* which he is selling for less than authorized edition; advises Mier take steps to stop it. A. L. S. F. 453

- Rivas, Martin Diego de, Monterey, June 20, 1822, to Mier. Recounts experiences since days with Mier in Mina expedition. Has since married a relative and will get in closer touch. A. L. S. F. 455
- Mier Noriega, José Felipe de, Monterey, June 21, 1822, to Mier. Advises of plan to study in capital on completion of local school. A. L. S. F. 457
- Monterey Ayuntamiento, June 21, 1822, to Mier. Asks assistance in keeping Monterey capital of province. Recounts events and conduct of Gaspar López. D. S. F. 458
- Mier y Noriega, José Joaquín de, Monterey, June 21, 1822, to Mier. Congratulations on return; recounts own experiences; asks aid in securing better position. A. L. S. F. 463
- Monterey Ayuntamiento, June 21, 1822, to [?], primer ministro. Plea for aid in remaining capital of province. Certified copy. F. 466
- Ugartechea, José Joaquín de, Monterey, June 21, 1822, to Mier. Relief at freedom of Mier; tells of eight children and reinstatement as collector of tobacco tax. L. S. F. 467
- Morales, Pedro José, Monterey, June 21, 1822, to Mier. Relief at Mier's liberty; greetings from family. Also signed by Morales's wife, María de los Dolores Mier y Noriega. A. L. S. F. 471
- Mier, Juan Bernardo, Monterey, June 21, 1822, to Mier. Greetings from family; asks military protection for his district; discusses rapid increase of Americans and its dangers to province; is preparing article on needed reforms. A. L. S. F. 472
- Mier y Noriega, Ariadne, Monterey, June 21, 1822, to Mier. Rejoices at Mier's freedom. Family news. A. L. S. F. 474
- Issel Gumbardo, Bernardo, Monterey, June 21, 1822, to Mier. Greetings and family news. L. S. F. 475
- Mier's *Exposicion a Iturbide en su exaltacion al trono*. Copy. F. 476
- Llastra†, María Guadalupe de las, June 23, to [Mier?]. Remitting some papers of interest. A. L. S. F. 496
- Portugal, Bernardo de, San Carlos, June 2[3], 1822, to Mier. Congratulations on return; recounts own experiences. A. L. S. F. 497
- Mier, M. G. E., Mexico, June 25, 1822, to Mier. Tells of her protracted illness; family affairs. A. L. S. F. 499
- Treviño, Juan Nepomuceno, Monterey, June 25, 1822, to Mier. Joy at Mier's freedom; greetings from nephews and nieces. In postscript asks about removal of Spaniards from governmental positions. A. L. S. F. 501
- Monterey Ayuntamiento, June 28, 1822, to Mier. Asks active measures for protection of rights of Monterey now threatened by attitude of Saltillo and acts of Gaspar López. D. S. F. 502
- Llano, Julia de, Monterey, June 29, 1822, to Manuel [de Llano]. Reports conditions in Monterey; needs Mier's assistance in protecting rights of the town. A. L. S. F. 506
- Peña, F. J. de la, Puebla, July 1, 1822, to José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, Mexico. Introducing Dr. Mier; has sold only four copies of the *Segundo Sueño*. A. L. S. F. 508

- Tacome, Andrés, Puebla, July 2, 1822, to Felipillo [?]. Asks for 100 pesos to be handed Mier. A. L. S. F. 510
- Ayala, Marcos, Monterey, July 5, 1822, to Mier. Had hoped to see him in Sota la Marina; now hopes to see him in Mexico; family news. L. S. F. 511
- Mier Noriega, Francisco de, Monterey, July 5, 1822, to Mier. Regrets Mier reached Puebla so exhausted; news of the Monterey-Salttillo controversy; family and local news. A. L. S. F. 513
- Mier Noriega, José Antonio, Monterey, July 6, 1822, to Mier. Has heard of Mier's arrival through Juan B. Arispe; reminds him of writer's circumstances. A. L. S. F. 515
- Tacome, Andrés, Puebla, July 6, 1822, to Mier. Trusts Mier has reached Mexico safely; cautions about his health. A. L. S. F. 517
- Texido, Manuel, Vera Cruz, July 9, 1822, to Mier. Regrets inability to get Mier's tobacco from boat, but there is no sale; former lot was shipped to Troncoso as directed. A. L. S. F. 518
- Bangs, Samuel, Saltillo, July 13, 1822, to Mier. Relates personal career to date; refers to Mina expedition; offers to work for Mier; has changed name to Manuel. A. L. S. F. 519
- [?], Puebla, July 13, 1822, to Mier. Describes military conditions around Puebla and dissatisfaction of masses. Unsigned. F. 521
- Mier's *Discurso* pronunciado el día 15 de julio quando se presentó al Dr. Mier a ocupar su asiento en Congreso. Autograph draft. Incomplete. Unsigned. Printed in González's *Biografía de Mier*, pp. 340-348. F. 522
- Recio, Manuel, Mexico, July 15, 1822, to Mier. Receipt for 179 copies of *Destrución de las Indias* to be put on sale. D. S. F. 524
- Llerena, Jose M., July 17, 1822, to Mier. Regrets not having been able to see Mier, but will expedite business mentioned and advise results. A. L. S. F. 525
- Soto, Mariano, Papalotla, July 19, to Mier. Expresses his admiration since boyhood for Mier; is himself an outcast. A. L. S. F. 526
- Monterey Ayuntamiento, July 22, 1822, to Gaspar López. Repeats request of March 30 that financial aid be given their deputy [Dr. Mier] who is in need. Certified copy. F. 527
- Mier, [?], Saltillo, July 22, 1822, to Mier. Rejoices over Mier's reception in Mexico; is dependent on him to get writer position in cathedral as bishop will favor Mier. Incomplete. Unsigned. F. 528
- Monterey Ayuntamiento, July 22, 1822, to Mier. Advises of steps taken to aid financially and of difficulties; urges need of calling provincial congress. L. S. F. 529
- [?], Saltillo, July 22, 1822, to Mier. Has received letter of 10th and is coming to Mexico; has prepared military record in hopes of getting award from government. Incomplete. Unsigned. F. 532
- López, Gaspar, Saltillo, July 22, 1822, to Mier. Congratulations on freedom and position he is now to occupy. A. L. S. F. 533
- Fernández de Lizardi, José Joaquín, Mexico, July 23, 1822, to Mier. Is sending 6 copies of *La verdad vestida de dama palaciega*. A. L. S. F. 534

- [Giral de Crama?], Joseph María, Oaxaca, July 27, 1822, to Mier. Expressing joy at arrival of Mier. Signed also by Gracia y Guerra de Gira[l], María Trinidad. A. L. S. F. 535
- Estrella, Juan José de la, Oaxaca, July 27, 1822, to Mier. Expresses satisfaction at freedom of Mier. Few lines of Joseph Giral de Crama repeating congratulations. A. L. S. F. 536
- Ugartechea, José Joaquín de, Monterey, July 29, 1822, to Mier. Has heard of Mier's stop at Puebla, arrival at Mexico, and interview with Iturbide. Asks that his service record not be forgotten in distribution of patronage. Family news. A. L. S. F. 537
- Velásquez, José Claudio, Santiago Miahuatla, to Mier. Congratulates on Mier's success and asks support of writer's petition addressed to the Mexican congress. A. L. S. F. 540
- Ugartechea, José Joaquín de, Monterey, July [31], 1822. Record of services. Copy. F. 542
- Bustamante, Anastasio, August 1, 1822, to Mier. Suggests that Ignacio Pérez see minister of war in person to press his claim; believes married soldiers should be allowed to return home. L. S. F. 543
- Ugartechea y Mier, Juana, Monterey, August 2, 1822, to Mier. Asks Mier's approval of her fiancé. A. L. S. F. 544
- Mier Noriega, Adriana, Monterey, August 2, 1822, to Mier. Mass has been said on hearing of Mier's safe arrival. Francisco Mier has not shown Mier's letters. Asks for news of J. M. Manero. Family news. A. L. S. F. 550
- Vivero, José, Monterey, August 2, 1822, to Mier. Congratulations on freedom and position. L. S. F. 551
- [Punales], Martín Diego, Monterey, August 2, 1822, to Mier. Has written four letters but received no reply; was with Mier at Galveston and Sota la Marina; joined Mina in Santo Domingo and was his barber; asks reply. A. L. S. (Writer is apparently the Martín Diego Rivas of June 20.) F. 552

Other letters in the collection are dated 1822 and 1823; among these is one from Vicente Guerrero. Those given will, however, serve to indicate the general character of the archives.

The Mier bibliography given by Reyes may be increased by the following items either by or about Mier.

II. WORKS BY MIER

- Representación que dirige a la Excm. Diputación provincial de México el Dr. Servando Mier y Noriega. In *La abeja poblana*, I, no. 4, Puebla, December 21, 1820.
- Una idea de la constitución en las leyes de Indias. (Published in Vera Cruz in 1820 but much enlarged for reprinting.)
- Despedida a los Mexicanos . . . printed by Troncoso, Puebla. (See letter, February 21, 1821.)

The opinions of the Right Reverend Servandus A. Mier, Doctor of Sacred Theology, in the royal and pontifical university of Mexico and chaplain of the right, first army of the peninsula, on certain queries proposed to him by the Rev. William Hogan, pastor of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, July 11, 1821. 12 pp. Printed copy in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library. MS. at U. T.

A Word relative to an anonymous pamphlet printed in Philadelphia entitled "Remarks on the Opinion of the Right Reverend Servando A. Mier, Doctor of Sacred Theology, etc." on certain questions proposed to him by the Rev. William Hogan. Philadelphia, August 17, 1821. 11 pp. Printed copy in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library. MS. at U. T.

III. TRANSLATIONS BY MIER

Atala ó los amores de dos salvajes en el desierto escrita en frances por Augusto Chateaubriand y traducida de la tercera edición, nuevamente corregida por S. Robinson, profesor de lengua española en Paris. Se hallará en casa del traductor, Calle St. Honoré cerca de la de Poulies, no. 1655. Año de 1801. Printed copy in Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

IV. WORKS CONCERNING MIER

Prieto, Antonio. Article in *El Noticioso* of Havana, September 17, 1820. U. T.
Observaciones políticas sobre la memoria que en agosto de 1821 dirigió desde Filadelfia a los generales del imperio mexicano el señor Don Servando de Mier y Noriega. In *La Sabatina Universal*, Mexico, 1821, no. 1, pp. 8-14. U. T.
Payno, Manuel. Vida, aventuras, escritos y viages del Dr. D. Servando Teresa de Mier precedida por un ensayo histórico. Mexico, Imp. de Juan Abadiano, 1865. 112 pp. Incomplete. U. T.

——— Vida del Dr. Mier. In *El Año Nuevo*, Mexico, September 15, 1894. U. T.
Editorial on Mier and his career in *Aurora and General Advertiser*, Philadelphia, June 16, 1821. Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library.

Meade, Richard W. An address to the Roman Catholics of the city of Philadelphia in reply to Mr. Harold's address. Philadelphia, October 22, 1823. (On p. 24 letter from José A. Torrens, chargé d'affaires of Mexico, certifying to character of Dr. Mier.) In Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library.

Remarks on the opinion of the Rt. Rev. Servandus A. Mier. . . . Philadelphia, published by Bernard Dornen, 1821. 8 pp. In Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library.

La figura de Dr. Servando Mier, loada en el congreso jurídico. In *Excelsior*, October 9, 1924.

Shea, J. G., *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1890), III, 236-237.

LOTA M. SPELL.

Austin, Texas.

DESCRIPTIVE CALENDAR OF SOUTH AMERICAN MANUSCRIPTS

(Continuation)

ABBREVIATIONS

Acct Bk.	Account Book of the Treasury of Guayana
ACE	Ariñez, Castillo, Encinas
Admin Reg	Administrative Registry
AF	Ariñez Family
Ariñez Exped.	Mateo Ortiz de Ariñez—Expediente
Ariñez (J. & M.)	José Cayetano Ortiz de Ariñez and Mateo de Ariñez
beg.	beginning
Biog. notes	Biographical Notes on General José Miguel Lanza
bot. p.	bottom of page
Cash Bk.	Cash Book of Antonio Francisco Cueto
Doc.	Document
Docs.	Documents
Eccles.	Ecclesiastical Affairs
end.	ending
Esquivel	Juan Christomo Esquivel, Lawsuit
Exped. Crim.	Expediente Criminal contra el Caudillo Juan Christomo Esquivel
Fam. mat.	Family matters
f. h.	first half
GL	Government Ledger
Hist.	History of La Paz
Juz. Exped.	Juzgado—Expediente
LC	Libro de Caja
LC Guay.	Libro de Caja de la Real Caja o Thesoreria de Guayana, etc.
Ledger	Ledger of the Auditorship of La Paz
LM	Libro Manual
LR	Letters and Receipts
Lt.	Lieutenant
Manual	Manual of the Treasury of Guayana
MB	Manuscripts—Bolivia
MBD	Manuscripts—Bolivia—Documents
MBs	Manuscripts, Broad sides
mid.	middle
Misc.	Miscellaneous
Misc. Docs.	Miscellaneous Documents
Orig. tit.	Original title
Protocols	Book of Protocols from the Tribunal de consulado de Lima

Ps.	Prints
Pres.	Presidencia de La Paz
RB	Rare Broadsides
RP	Rare Prints
RT	Religious Tracts
S	Statistics
s. h.	second half
SRH	Statistics of the Real Hacienda
SL	Sale of Lands
Sotelo	Lawsuit of C. Arias Sotelo
T	Treasury
Testimonio	Testimonio de las Sentencias de Vista y revista en el pleito del Sindico, y maiordomo de nuestra Señora de la Concepción En favor De Don Christoual Arias Sotelo De 1642, El qual Pleito Original quedo en el Oficio de Don Joan de Cabrera
Titulos	Libro donde se toma Razon de los Titulos librados a los Ministros y dependientes, etc.

CHAPTER I

1574-1575

Don FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO, Viceroy

1574, May 29.

—
 Earliest manuscript in the collection; of beautiful and well preserved writing. However, two yellow spots appear which endanger the keeping of the text from decay.

No. 1. Statement of the real hacienda that the tributes of the repartimientos which were in charge of Captain Juan Remón of La Paz, properly to be collected for the royal treasury (caja real) by its corregidor y justicia mayor, Don Luys de Tapia, should be used to outfit two men for the purpose of fighting the Chiriguana Indians and those of Santa Cruz de la Sierra; that the encomendero, Mateo Rengiffo, and Captain Juan Remon should be appointed to command this expedition against the Indians, being therefore authorized to use 500 pesos *de plata* from the tributes they owe to the royal treasury; that said corregidor should pay to them all other necessary expenses connected with this expedition. Issued by "Señor Lorenzo de Cantoral a cuyo cargo esta al presente la Rl hazienda de su magt desta ciudad de nuestra señora de la paz por ausencia de Fran de los Rios tesorero della", etc. Signed by Luis Octabio, Juan de Remon, and Lorenzo de Cantoral, state officers.¹ The second page is a testimonial, relating to the preceding

¹ These officers were new Christians, whose ancestors were Jews who had been persecuted by the Inquisition.

1574, May 29.

one, and is signed by Amateo Rengifo whose name appears also on the first page of this document. However, his own signature is written Amathoo rrengifo instead of Mateo or Amateo Rengifo, as it appears on the first page. (MB, Vol. 1, MBD, 1574-1799.² Doc. 1, pp. 1-2.)³ [21 x 31 cm.]

1575, Feb. 19.

No. 2. Military message relative to Doc. 1. Entitled: "Librança a mateo Rengifo q̃ por el capitan rramon fue a la guerra de los chiriguanaes De l[os]⁴ Dpos corrientes", etc. This message of thirteen short lines is signed by Doña Joana de Coronado, Coronel de Bando, an unusual and also an unknown person. She probably was a heroine of the conquests in Peru. (MB, *ibid.* Doc. 2, pp. 1-2.) [21 1/2 x 28 cm.] P. 1 blank.

CHAPTER II

1605-1612

REAL AUDIENCIA, Government ad Interim

Don JUAN DE MENDOZA Y LUNA

Marqués de Montesclaros, Viceroy

1605-[1609].

No. 3. An entire volume in folio consisting of about 314 very valuable records which form a series of entries of the treasury of the viceroyalty of Peru. It covers a governmental term from 1605 to 1609. The original numbering begins with 53 and ends with 302, *i.e.*, 250 folios, respectively rubricated with flourishes of the signatories, but renumbered (by me) from 1 to 500 pages. The material herein is divided into thirty-seven sections which contain documents of governmental receipts (*cargos*) and disbursements (*descargos*) of all sorts. Each section contains protocols which state the sources and the amounts of income and expenditure of the viceregal treasury.

Section 1, pp. 7-14. Heading: "Cargo que se haze a Miguel Ruiz de Bustillo tesorero de su Mgd de lo qe Recieue y cobra por quenta de Cargo ex[tr]aordinario este Año de 1609". The eleven records under this heading

² In spite of the binder date (1574-1799), there are in the same volume a number of documents of later dates.

³ For this and all other "Abbreviations" see p. 376; Doc. 1 is discussed in the "Introduction (*q.v.* issue for May, 1932, p. 242).

⁴ Manuscript defective. The letters in brackets (here and elsewhere) have been supplied by the present compiler.

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deal with special funds: (a) By Don Gregorio y Figueroa from alodium (exempt estate) of Larecajas which was taxed in the census of 1608-1609; (b) By Licenciado Ri[v]ero for alms from the convents of the Society of Jesus; (c) By Don Sancho Ortiz de Monastero, rent administrator in Charcas; (d) Despatches to the real hacienda and Guardapíe from the repartimientos of Caquingora; (e) By Juan Calderón, commissary judge, from individual collections; (f) Legal collections by Captain Francisco de Varrara from the real hacienda of La Paz; (g) Taxes from repartimientos; (h) Legal collections by the Caja Real from Don Gaspar de Carranca as a part of his many obligations; (i) Duty paid by Antonio Pérez to the real hacienda; (j) Governmental appropriations of the property remaining after the death of the Indian woman, Doña Carua; (k) Other appropriations from the same Indian woman. At the end of this section is a statement that other records of this nature are to be found in another government ledger which is supposed to bear the number 294.

Section 2, pp. 15-26. Heading: "Cargo que se le haze al Tessoro Migl Ruiz de Bustillo por mio Nombor Po de Ybarra de lo que Recieue y cobra por cuenta del Repartimto de Machacha la Grande de la R^a Corona este Año de MDCIX". The eight entries in this section deal with revenue from rent: (a) Payment of Rodrigo Xouel to the real hacienda in clothes and agricultural instruments; (b) Taxes of the Indians from the repartimiento of Biacha; (c) Tributes from the repartimiento of Puxa; (d) Income taxes from Conde de Gomera; governor of the province of Chuquito; (e) Tributes from the holdings of the repartimientos by the same governor; (f) Tributes from the holdings of Doña Francisca de Cabrera; (g) This and the record following deal with taxes from provision stores and meat markets.

Section 3, pp. 27-34. Heading: "Cargo que se Hace al tesorero miguel rruíz de bustillo de lo que rrecieue y Cobra por cuenta de las rreales Alcaualas de su Magestad el Año de MDCIX". The ten protocols in this division concern royal taxation: (a) Rent from Rector Pedro Nieto; (b) From Juan Gomez de Cespedes, administrator of the *reales alcabalas* of the town of Cicacica; (c) From Juan de Vinero for commercial transactions; (d) From Marco Ponce de Leon for merchandise; (e) From Estevan de Lartarin, corregidor y justicia mayor of the province of Pacajes in payment of the *alcabalas* of his

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state; (f) By Juan de Calderón, commissary judge, from Juan de Sala, heir to the repartimiento in the district of La Paz, previously owned by his brother Luis de Sala; (g) Taxes from Charcas, including those of Don Antonio de Contrera Ulloa and Don Antonio Medina Verdugo; (h) Revenue from various transactions including the transference of business; (i) Miscellaneous tributes; (j) Labor taxes from Santos and from the repartimiento of Detiguana.

Section 4, pp. 35-44. Heading: "Cargo que se le haze al Tessor Migl Ruiz de bustillo por el Contor Po de ybarra de lo que Recieve y cobra por cuenta del Repartimto de Machaca la Grande de la Rl Corona este Año de MDCIX". The six entries in this section concern revenue from repartimientos: (a) Silver and sheep from the corregimiento of Machaca la Grande; (b) Payment in clothes by Indian subjects; (c) *Tercios* paid in sheep by the Indians of the repartimiento of Machaca la Grande; (d) Collections by Don Gregorio Suarez de Vittoria, alguacil mayor of La Paz, from Indians of his repartimiento at Tacaporros; (e) *Tercios* in silver for the year beginning Navedad (Christmas) 1608 from the Indians in Machaca la Grande. The entry following these is of the same nature.

Section 5, pp. 45-54. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del repartimiento de callapa de La corona Real", etc. Seven entries of collections from royal repartimientos: (a) Silver and sheep from the Indians of La corona Real; (b) Record of an auction of the goods of Indians; (c) Summary of taxes from Indians in 1609; (d) Seventy-four linen shirts (*camisas de la tierra*) taken from the Indians in payment of farm taxes; (e) *Tercios* in silver from the Indians of the royal repartimiento, collected by Estauan de Lartaun, corregidor y justicia mayor and treasurer of La corona Real; (f) Revenue from foods of all kinds; (g) Silver from Indians of the province of Pacajes collected by Martín Pérez de Menda, oficial mayor of the repartimientos of the same province.

Section 6, pp. 55-70. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del Repartimiento de ayoayo", etc. Six registries of the repartimiento Ayoayo: (a) Taxes paid in clothing; (b) Sums of money for taxes from Indians of Ayoayo; (c) Auction of the cattle of the Indians by officials of the real hacienda; (d) Payment by Indians in agricultural products; (e) *Tercios* by Rodrigo Veláz-

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quez in the name of Alonzo de Mendoza Catanó, corregidor of the province of Caracollo and the balance of the taxes due by Don Fernando de Vera y Padia, former official of the partido of the same province, for the year 1607; (f) Record of conversion of currency.

Section 7, pp. 71-86. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "de lo proçedido Del Repartimiento de Carabucumoho y Conimas", etc. Sixteen records dealing with the previously mentioned repartimiento: (a) 317 *tomes* (tomines) of silver in payment of the Indian's taxes in the repartimientos of Moho and Conima collected by Conde de La Gomera, corregidor y justicia Mayor of the province of Paubarcolla and by the alcalde ordinario, Francisco de Barrasa y Cardenas; (b) Taxes in silver by Don Juan de Lacueba, corregidor of the province of Larecajas and of others, from Indians of his repartimientos; (c) A pool of money exchanged for goods taken up by the Indians of Moho y Conima, Carabuco, Vilque, and Guangasco; two other records relating to the Indians of the same places; (d) An account of bars of silver in gross; (e) Silver from Vilque Indians for the year 1607; the two records following this one deal with the same type of income for the year 1606; (f) Auction of the agricultural products of the Indians of the previous mentioned colonies; (g) Payment of taxes by the Indians of Ylaui in fowls; (h) Collections by Licenciado Gaspar Alfonso Ri[v]ero, Juan Calderón, and Juan de Lacuna; (i) Collections for the real hacienda by Juan Batista de Valencia, corregidor of Omasuyo; (j) Taxes collected by Benito Luis de Texada, scrivener of the department of provinces of the real hacienda; (k) Two more records of taxes from Indians of the repartimiento of Carabuco.

Section 8, pp. 87-98. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "de lo q̄ Recieve y Cobra Por cuenta del Repartimiento de Caquingora", etc. Nine divisions in this section record tributes for the year 1607-1609: (a) Silver collections from the Indians in the repartimiento of Caquingora; (b) Clothing paid as taxes by the same people; (c) Taxes paid in work by the same Indians; (d) The remaining divisions list food, fruits, and cattle collected in payment of taxes.

Section 9, pp. 99-106. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por qa de Ventas y Composicion de Tierras", etc. Two records dealing with income from sale of lands in Valle de Larecaja.

Section 10, pp. 107-130. Heading: "Cargo", etc.

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"por qa de Justicias y defensores", etc. Eight memoranda dealing with income from court trials constitute this section.

Section 11, pp. 131-146. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del seruio gracioso", etc. Two entries which record tithes paid by the Peruvian clergy to the king.

Section 12, pp. 147-158. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta de lo prozedido de ofios Vendidos", etc. Twelve records which register taxes from official stationery.

Section 13, pp. 159-174. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta de las demassias del cappan Juo Ramon",⁵ etc. Twenty protocols registering revenue from taxes on excess property collected mostly from the Indians of Santiago, Caquiauire, Machaca la Chica, Chuquiabo, Calamarca, Chuquiauo, and Sorata.

Section 14, pp. 175-186. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta de paucarcolla Guarda de a pie", etc. Eleven registries of income from Indians of different Guardapiés for the years 1605-1609.

Section 15, pp. 187-210. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por qa de la Tassa de los Yanaconas de su Magd", etc. Thirty-three records registering revenue from Indians bound to personal service (*yanaconas*). This type represents the taxes collected in different corregimientos from Indian slaves owned by the Spanish monarch.

Section 16, pp. 211-214. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por qa del Repartimiento de parcaucolla Lanças", etc. Two records of duties paid to the Spanish government by the principales of Paucaucolla for the repartimientos in the respective provinces.

Section 17, pp. 215-224. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta de el Repartimio de los Calauaias", etc. Nine entries dealing with various revenues from the Indian residents of Calabaias. The revenue consists of food, clothing, silver, and other objects.

Section 18, pp. 225-234. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del Repartimiento de Copacauana", etc. Two registries of pools of money from the inhabitants of Copacabana.

Section 19, pp. 235-242. Heading: "Cargo extra-Ordinario de los Lanças de este año de MDCIX". Four

⁵ This officer seems to be the same as the one who was engaged in the expedition against the Chiriguana Indians, in 1574. Cf. Doc. 1, ch. I, pp. 1-2.

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entries of special funds appropriated by the real hacienda.

Section 20, pp. 243-250. Heading: "Cargo que se haze a Miguel Ruiz de bustillo Tesorero de su Magd de lo q Recine y cobra p quenta del Repartimio de Calamarca Lanças este año de MDCIX". Six protocols recording income from the Indian population of the repartimiento of Calamarca.

Section 21, pp. 251-258. Heading: "Cargo," etc. "por qa de las bullas de La santa Cruzda", etc. A memorandum of income from bulls of the crusade."

Section 22, pp. 259-262. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del Repartimio de laxa Lanças", etc. Four divisions noting taxes of the repartimiento Laxa in the province of Omasuyo. The next section 23, pp. 263-270, bears only a heading of "Oficios Vendidos" without further text.

Section 24, pp. 271-278. Heading: "Cargo que se Hace Al thesorero Miguel rruiz de bustillo de lo que entra en esta caxa Rl del rrepartimiento De Moho y conima por qta de Lanças y Permuta Hiço el Almirante Hernando Lamero Con la dha Compania de Lanças este año de MDCIX". Five pool and exchange records, relating to the taxation of the Indians of Moho and Conima. As usual the payments here consist of fish, food, clothing, and other objects. The admiral of the Spanish navy, Hernando Lamero, was responsible for the collection of the type of taxes herein considered. He confiscated the goods of the Indians, delivering them to the real hacienda as an exchange for money. The real hacienda usually disposed of these goods through public auction.

Section 25, pp. 279-282. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta de la escritura que en esta caxa rreal ay contra alonso maldonado perteneciente a su magd". This is a memorandum of taxes from deeds on inheritances.

Section 26, pp. 283-286. Heading: "Cargo que se haze Al tesorero don Juan cortina de montalbo^a de la plata que en esta Caxa Rl entra para el adereço y Reparado de las casas Reales de la ciudad de lima Obras y Jardines de ellas este año de MDCIX". A record of appropriations for public improvements in the city of Lima, Peru.

Section 27, pp. 287-294. Heading: "Cargo de lo q

^a Other "Cargos" related to the same treasurer, Don Juan Cortina de Montalbo, are to be found in Doc. 3, pp. 1-98. Cf. Ch. II., pp. 17-19, entry No. 4.

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en esta Casa Real entra por cuenta de la Bacante de puno'', etc. An entry from Indian villages of payment of silver.

Section 28, pp. 295-354. Heading: "Descargo Que da Miguel Ruiz de Bustillo[,] Thesorro de su Magd De Las pagas que Hace de La Plata perteneciente a la R^a Hazienda este año MDCIX''. Forty-nine records of government disbursement to offices and to officers of the administrative body of Alto Perú. The material describes the specific function of each officer as well, listing the respective salaries of each.

Section 29, pp. 355-374. Heading: "Descargo'', etc. "perteneciente a la Guarda de a pies'', etc. Eight protocols of government expenditures to officers of the Guardapie.

Section 30, pp. 375-394. Heading: "Descargo'', etc., "pertenecientes a los Gentiles hombres'', etc. Twelve memoranda noting governmental outlay of money for the members of the nobility.

Section 31, pp. 395-416. Heading: "Descargo'', etc., "perteneciente a Yanaconas'', etc. Three records of salaries for officials in charge of Indians bound to personal service.'

Section 32, pp. 417-422. Heading: "Data y Descargo'', etc., "perteneciente a Tributos Vacos'', etc. Three registries of the transfer of tributes from the real hacienda to the Santa Cruzada de la Sierra.

Section 33, pp. 423-454. Two registries of disbursements to the officials of the repartimiento of Calamarca.

Section 34, pp. 455-464. Heading: "Descargo'', etc., "pagas que por cuenta del Repartimiento de Caquingora'', etc. Eight entries recording payments to the office of the above mentioned repartimiento.

Section 35, pp. 465-482. Heading: "Alcaualas.'' An appendix of eighteen records dealing with taxes from various sources. At the side is indicated: "Biene este cargo de foja No. 69''.

Section 36, pp. 483-486. Heading: "Cargo extraordinario''. An appendix of four registries dealing with special funds. In the margin is indicated: "Biene de fojas No. 59''.

¹ Yanacona is a term of the Quechua language. As a noun the term is applied (especially in Peru and in Bolivia) to an Indian farmer. As an adjective (*e.g.*: Indio yanacona, Yanacona Indian) the term was used to indicate an Indian, during the colonial period, who was subject to the Spaniards for personal services. For other documents of this nature, *cf.* section 37 of this chapter.

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Section 37, pp. 487-500. Heading: "Yanaconas". An appendix of eleven records listing taxes from Indians bound to personal service. The margin bears the following notation: "Viene este cargo de foxas 157 en este libro".

This volume as a whole constitutes a very important source for the economic history of Peru. The 314 records comprising this binder are signed by Pedro de Ibarra, auditor of the real hacienda, Gregorio Suarez, auditor of the caja real, Miguel Ruiz de Bustillo, acting royal treasurer, and some by Don Cotrina de Montalvo, Felipe III.'s treasurer.

(MB, Vol. 2, GL, 1605-1609. Orig. titles: Back—"609 Libro particular del contador Pedro de Ybarra del año de 1605-1609"; Front cover—"1609 Libro Real del año de 1609 MDCIX". Doc. 306, pp. 1-500) [21 1/2 x 31 cm.] 242 pages blank.

1608-[1612].

No. 4. Group of treasury records, probably cut out from a government ledger. They open with four blank pages, originally numbered 76, 77, which are rubricated in the two lower corners with flourishes of two different signatures, and end with No. 171. However, the group renumbered (by me) is only 98 pages. The documents grouped herein divide themselves into five sections. The general heading of this group is "Cargo que se haze a don Juan cotrina De montalvo tesorero De su magd De la plata que re y cobra por quenta De Resultas este año de 1V610". It deals with important affairs of the treasury of Peru, as well as with those of the viceroyalty of Mexico and the territories of Nueva Granada and La Plata, during the period 1608-1612. The following outline gives the contents of the five sections:

(a) Bartolomé de Estrada, prefect of La Paz, "por-quenta de oficios vendidos".

(b) "Caquingoras carneros de annud 1609-a la tasa".

(c) Machaca la Chica. Cattle in payment of taxes.

(d) Don Alonso de Mendoza in charge of collecting clothes and silver for taxes in 1608.

(e) Shipments of *ducados* and silver in 1610.

(f) Distribution of sacred material, oil, wine, etc. to the churches.

The whole of the text consists of 44 protocols, each of which is signed by Don Juan Cotrina de Montalvo and by Gregorio Pardo. The rubrics on the unused pages, as well as the headings of the text, are adorned by the flourishes of the signatures of the two officers

1608-[1612]. mentioned above. The importance of this document lies in the details given concerning the collection of the various types of taxes. It also shows the relationship between the government and the clergy.

(MB, Vol. 1, MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 3, pp. 1-98.)
[20 1/2 x 30 cm.] 70 pages blank.

1610, Oct. 30. No. 5. Part of a letter signed by Antonio Gonzales del Pino.

(MB, Vol. 4, Misc. 1610-1813. Doc. 519, pp. 1-2.)
[10 1/2 x 23 1/2 cm.] Page 2 blank.

JAC NACHBIN.

Northwestern University.

(To be continued)

HISPANIC AMERICA IN FRENCH PERIODICAL LITERATURE DURING 1931

The growing interest in France in Hispanic American history and institutions has already been touched upon by the present writer in his brief survey of French periodical literature for the last six months of 1930.¹ The present article will embrace the entire year 1931. Of the various magazines brought under review, by all odds the most important is the monthly *Revue de l'Amérique Latine*, directed by MM. Ernest Martinenche and Charles Lesca.² In the January number appears an article by Dr. Rodrigo Octavio, "Le découverte du nouveau monde et les activités françaises dans le Brésil primitif". As jurist, poet, historian, one of the founders of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, and a member of the Supreme Court of Rio the author is well known to all students of all things Brazilian. Most of the ground traversed in the article under review is familiar but the author has rescued from oblivion the figure of a Frenchman, Guido Thomas Marlière, a French officer who entered the service of Brazil early in the last century. He resigned from the army and devoted his latter years (1813-1829) to the conversion and civilization of the Indians of Minas Geraes, thus winning the title of the "Apostle of the forests of Minas".

In the same number, Professor Louis Baudin of the University of Dijon, the greatest living authority in France on the civilization of the Incas, has contributed an article, "L'empire des Incas d'après quelques écrivains français des 16^e, 17^e, et 18^e siècles". M. Baudin shows that the writings of these men, which at one time enjoyed a great vogue, rest upon a very slender basis of facts. Especially is this true of the greatest favorites, Marmontel's *Les Incas* and Raynal's *Histoire des Établissements et du Commerce européen dans les deux Indes*. M. Baudin will be remembered as the author of *L'empire socialiste des Incas* (1928) and *La Vie de François Pizarre* (1930). Also in the January number of the *Revue de l'Amérique Latine* is a long article by Dr. Víctor Andrés Belaunde, editor of *El Mercurio Peruano* and at present a member of the faculty of Miami University, entitled "La

¹ HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, May, 1931.

² Published in Paris, 141 Boulevard Pereire. Subscription, 90 francs per year.

Convención de Ocaña. The significance of this assembly of 1828, the last desperate attempt of Bolívar to prevent the break-up of his creation of "Great Colombia", is perhaps for the first time made fully intelligible. The article will presumably form a chapter of a book on which Professor Belaunde has for some time been engaged.

In the April number of the same review are two articles of considerable interest. The first by Raymond Ronze, "Deus éducateurs argentins, Ricardo Rojas et Juan B. Terán is an appraisal of achievements of two of the most outstanding of Argentine intellectuals of the present day. Dr. Rojas, the rector of the University of Buenos Aires, has risen to eminence as a poet, literary critic, and historian. Dr. Terán is one of the two founders of the University of Tucumán and is the author of a number of works on Argentine history. He has recently been appointed to a chair of history at the University of Buenos Aires. The other article, by Philéas Lebesgue, "Impressions d'un émigrant français au Mexique en 1857" is a vivid description of conditions in Mexico City in the middle of the last century. The July number of the same magazine contains the first of a series of articles by the well-known Venezuelan historian, Dr. L. Vallenilla Lanz (now minister to France), entitled "Disgregación e Integración", a penetrating sociological study of the development of Venezuela.

The publication in 1930 of a three volume monograph by the Canadian archivist Edmond Buron, *Ymago Mundi de Pierre d'Ailly, Texte latin et Traduction française des quatre Traités cosmographiques de d'Ailly et des Notes marginales de Christophe Colomb* (Paris, Maisonneuve) has been the occasion of at least two articles during the past year. The first, appearing in the *Revue de l'Amérique Latine* for August is by J. M. González de Mendoza and is entitled "Le Cardinal d'Ailly, inspirateur de Christophe Colomb". The second appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for September 15, and was from the pen of the distinguished French critic, Charles de La Roncière. Its title, "Le livre de chevet et la carte de Christophe Colomb", suggests the importance which M. de La Roncière attaches to the book which Columbus "kept under his pillow". It is quite possible that both of these writers unduly stress the extent to which Columbus was beholden to the cardinal. Yet the indebtedness of the great Genoese is evidenced by the voluminous and painstaking annotations of the *Ymago Mundi*, now for the first time made readily available by Mr. Buron.

In the September and October numbers of the *Revue de l'Amérique Latine* appear under the title of "Pasteur et le Brésil" a series of extraordinarily interesting letters between the French scientist and Dom Pedro II. The emperor was a great admirer of Pasteur whom he knew personally in Paris, and to whose Institute he contributed 100,000 francs. He repeatedly urged him to visit Brazil. Pasteur declared (in November, 1880) that had he been younger and stronger he would have liked nothing better than to spend a year in Brazil to study yellow fever. The letters were collected and edited by Dr. Afranio Peixoto, the president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters.

In the October and November numbers of the same review appear two thoughtful studies by the Chilean economist, Moisés Poblete Troncoso. The first, called "Quelques aspects de la politique agraire en Amérique latine" deals with the economic and social evils of *latifundia*. A series of tables indicates that, with the exception of Mexico, comparatively little progress has been made during the past few decades in reducing the number of large estates. In the case of Chile actual retrogression has taken place. In 1916, there were 248 estates of more than 5,000 hectares; the number rose to 591 in 1926 and to 599 in 1928, constituting in the last year named 56 per cent of the agricultural lands of the republic. The second article is entitled "Le développement du communisme en Amérique latine". If we are to believe the author communism has assumed alarming proportions during the past few years and the ordinary methods of suppression, such as those employed by ex-President Ibáñez (exile to Easter Island, etc.) are powerless to check it. The conclusions of Sr. Poblete are worth quoting:

Le moyen le plus efficace pour enrayer le communisme se trouve dans la réalisation d'une politique de justice inspirée du développement de la culture, la protection des plus faibles et la réparation plus équitable de la richesse.

In the January number of *France-Amérique* G. le Gentil, chargé de cours at the Sorbonne, has summarized in an article entitled "L'Indien et le droit" a series of lectures presented by the Brazilian jurist, Rodrigo Octavio, at the Hague in 1930. On the basis of data which must have been very difficult to assemble is given an account of the legal status of the Indians from the period of discovery to our own day. In the same number of *France-Amérique*, Dr. John Nicoletis of the University of Rio de Janeiro discusses the causes and developments

of the Brazilian revolution of 1930 under the title of "Les événements politiques actual du Brésil". The author finds the explanation of the revolt in the attempt of the state of São Paulo to perpetuate an unjustified preponderance of influence in the federation.

In the March and July numbers of the same review, Dr. Rodrigo Octavio completes his study, begun in the November (1930) number, entitled "La participation étrangère au développement économique du Brésil". In his discussion of the legal status of foreigners in Brazil, he brings the story up to the present time and includes an account of the concession granted to Mr. Henry Ford by the state of Pará. Despite the sweeping terms of this concession the writer sees no occasion for alarm as there is no delegation of the powers of the state.

In the *Revue des Sciences Politiques* for March, 1931, Miss Jannette Bailey Check has set out to acquaint the French reading public with the attitude of the United States toward the Nicaraguan imbroglio in an excellent article entitled "La politique des États Unis au Nicaragua et sa signification judiciaire".

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

NOTES ON RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Under the direction of Professor Menéndez Pidal, President of the Royal Spanish Academy, is being prepared a *Historia general*, which will be published by the firm of Calpe of Barcelona. The most eminent historians of Spain have offered their coöperation. It is reasonable to suppose that a number of the volumes will contain material on Hispanic America.

Dr. Charles Upson Clark, while carrying on investigations under the Smithsonian Institution, had the good fortune to discover in the Vatican Library the manuscript of a work on the Indies by the Carmelite friar, Antonio Vásquez de Espinosa, with the title *Primera Parte del Compendio y Descripción de las Indias Occidentales*. The author received permission for the publication of this work in 1629 but owing to his death the following year, it remained, save for a few sheets, in manuscript form. The writer had traveled widely throughout Peru, Central America, and New Spain, and his work, which is shortly to be issued by the Smithsonian Institution in the original

Spanish with an English translation, will prove an important addition to the seventeenth century historical literature on Spanish America.

Professor Jonathas Serrano of Rio de Janeiro has written an excellent one volume *Historia do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, Briguet et Cia, 1931). It contains many illustrations and relevant extracts from historians and other writers. It will be reviewed in a future number of the *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*.

The passing of the dictatorship of Leguía has been the occasion of a number of critical appraisals of his administration and its shortcomings alleged and real. For special mention may be singled out *La Realidad Nacional* by Dr. Víctor Andrés Belaunde (Paris, 1931) and *La Política Internacional Peruana durante la Dictadura de Leguía* by Sr. Pedro Ugarteche (Lima, 1931).

Those interested in the recent history of Colombia should not neglect the two volume apologia of his administration by ex-President Carlos E. Restrepo, entitled *Orientación Republicana* (Bogotá, 1930),

The latest and one of the most scholarly biographies on Rosas is that of Carlos Ibarguren, *Juan Manuel de Rosas* (Buenos Aires, Roldán, 1930).

All have heard of Alexandre Olivier Exquemeling, the famous Dutch freebooter, who in his old age set down his misdeeds under the title of *Histoire des Flibustiers*, or as it is better known in English guise, *The Buccaneers of America*. It now appears that this high-sounding name was but a pseudonym adopted by one Henrik Smeeks who began his career as a common sailor. This discovery was made by the Dutch scholar Dr. Hoogewerff who has described the real activities of Smeeks in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 1930, pp. 225-236. After spending ten years in the Dutch East Indies Smeeks secured employment with the French West Indian Company. On reaching America, however, he threw in his lot with the buccaneers of Tortuga and eventually became their leader.

Argentine archaeology and ethnography have suffered a grievous loss through the death on September 30, 1930, of Professor Salvador

Debenedetti, for many years director of the Museo Etnográfico of Buenos Aires. The Argentine scholar Sr. Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois has prepared a bibliography of the works of Dr. Debenedetti, amounting to 130 titles, and has published them in Nos. 47-48 of the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* (January-July, 1931). Many items deal with historical topics. All those who, like the writer of this note, had the privilege of visiting the Museo Etnográfico will recall the wealth of its exhibits and the courtesy of its director.

The martial exploits of the Peruvians have finally been recorded by a historian fully versed in the technique of military science. Carlos Dellepiane, "Teniente Coronel de Caballería, Diplomado de Estado Mayor, Profesor del Curso en la Escuela Superior de Guerra y en la Escuela Militar del Perú" has just completed a bulky two volume *Historia Militar del Perú* (Lima, 1931). It falls into three major divisions styled "Libros": I. "Guerra de la Revolución Emancipadora"; II. "Guerras de Consolidación de la República"; III. "Guerra del Pacífico". This last section occupies all of the second volume of 757 pages. The value of the work is enhanced by a large number of plans and diagrams and over 400 pages of documents.

The second edition of the *Historia constitucional de Venezuela* by the well known Venezuelan scholar, José Gil Fortoul (2 vols., Caracas, 1930) has been published. Volume I. is entitled, "La Colonia, la Independencia, la gran Colombia"; volume II., "Reconstitución de la República, La oligarquía conservadora".

The distinguished Portuguese critic and historian Fidelino de Figueiredo, whose *Estudos de Historia Americana* was reviewed in the February (1932) number of the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, has published a collection of essays entitled *Motivos de novo Estylo* (Lisboa, Livraria Classica, 1930). One of these essays, "Paralelidade e Asynchronia" is an illuminating analysis of the relations between Spain and Portugal during the past five centuries and an attempt to explain why all attempts at permanent union have thus far been frustrated.

Students of Brazilian history have long lamented the absence of biographical material on the leading men of the republic. This need

has been partly met by the *Paulista* writer Aureliano Leite in a collection of biographical sketches entitled *Retratos a Pena* (São Paulo, Editora Limitada, 1930). The roster includes such names as Rodrigues Alves, Prudente de Moraes Barros, Antonio Prado, Campos Salles, and Francisco Glicerio.

The Argentine diplomat and historian Dr. Roberto Levillier (at the present time minister to Poland) has published the second volume of his comprehensive *Nueva Crónica de la Conquista del Tucumán* (Buenos Aires, 1930). The new volume covers the years 1563-1573 and deals especially with the activities of the conquistador, Francisco de Aguirre. When completed the work of Dr. Levillier will constitute a most important contribution to Spanish American colonial history.

Sr. Hugo D. Barbagelata, the well-known Uruguayan scholar and director of the weekly *L'Amérique Latine* published in Paris, has issued a second and expanded edition of his *Artigas y la Revolución Americana* (Paris, 1930).

After years of laborious investigations in the archives of Paris, Madrid, Lisbon, London, and Petrograd, M. André Fugier has produced an admirable monograph, *Napoléon et l'Espagne, 1799-1808* (2 vols. Paris, 1930). Certain chapters of this work, which bids fair to be definitive, are of great interest to students of Hispanic America. Especially is this true of the section dealing with the French invasion of Portugal resulting in the flight of Don João and his court to Brazil.

The unhappy controversy between Bolivia and Paraguay has on its credit side a number of monographs on the early history of the regions involved. One of the latest of these works is by the Paraguayan scholar Efraim Cardozo, *El Chaco en el Régimen de las Intendencias, La Creación de Bolivia*, with a prologue by Doctor Eusebio Ayala (Asunción, 1930).

The classic work of François Raymond Joseph de Pons, *Voyage à la Partie orientale de la Terre-Ferme*, long out of print, is now rendered available in an excellent Spanish translation, *Viaje a la Parte oriental de Tierra Firme* (Caracas, 1930).

The *Bulletin* of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, organized it will be recalled at Geneva in 1926, from time to time contains material on Hispanic American History. Especially is this true of the number for December, 1930 (II., Part V, No. 10) which contains *inter alia*: contributions by Dr. Max Fleiuss, perpetual secretary of the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, entitled "L'Institut historique et géographique brésilien", and "Les principaux Historiens brésiliens et leurs Ouvrages"; by Sr. Ricardo Donoso, "La Sociedad chilena de Historia y Geografía"; and by Sr. Luis Ulloa, "Organisation des Études historiques au Pérou".

Professor Jorge Basadre of the University of San Marcos and author of *La Iniciación de la República, Contribución al Estudio de la Evolución política y social del Perú* (2 vols. Lima, 1929, 1930) has just published an admirable synthesis of the historical evolution of Peru under the title of *Perú: Problema y Posibilidad* (Lima, 1931). Save for two introductory chapters the work deals with the history of Peru from the period of independence to the present time.

La Revista Americana de Buenos Aires has devoted its entire number for January, 1932, to a descriptive catalogue of the newspapers and magazines published at the present time in Hispanic America. Considering the difficulty of collecting data of this sort the list is astonishingly complete. Under each caption is given the name of the paper or review, the type of material it contains, the frequency of its appearance, the address (street and number) of its headquarters, the date of its establishment, the size of its format, and in many instances the names of both the owners and directors. It is unnecessary to stress the importance of this list to all those interested in the periodical literature of Hispanic America. The office of *La Revista Americana* is Avenida Presidente R. Saénz Peña, 530, and its director is Dr. V. Lillo Catalán.

A really notable work on the period of discovery and exploration has appeared from the pen of the French scholar Eugène Déprez, *Les grands voyages et les grandes Découvertes jusqu'à la Fin du XVIII^e Siècle, Origine, Développement, Consequences* (Paris, 1930). This

book, which contains over 600 pages, falls into seven major divisions of which the following are of interest to students of Hispanic America:

- II. L'effort portugais, la découverte et la garde de la route des épices (1415-1520).
- III. Le contact avec les grandes civilisations du Nouveau Monde, la ruée vers l'or et la formation de l'Empire colonial espagnol (1520-1580).
- IV. L'hégémonie coloniale de l'Espagne et l'essor maritime anglais.

After placing all students of Bolívar under a great obligation through the publication in 1930 of ten volumes of letters of the Liberator (*Cartas del Libertador corregidas conforme a las Originales*, edited by Vicente Lecuna) the Venezuelan government has turned its attention to the wealth of material in its archives dealing with the life and activities of Miranda. Under the editorial supervision of the well-known Venezuelan scholar Dr. Vicente Dávila, the following eight volumes bearing the general title of *Archivo del general Miranda* were published at Caracas during the years 1929-1930. [Since this note went to press two more volumes have appeared.]

- I. Viajes, Diarios, 1750-1785.
- II. Viajes, Diarios, 1785-1787.
- III. Viajes, Diarios, 1787-1788.
- IV. Viajes, Diarios, Documentos, 1788 a 1800. 1771 a 1781.
- V. Viajes, Documentos, 1781 a 1785, Cartas a Miranda, 1775 a 1785.
- VI. Viajes, Cartas a Miranda, 1789 a 1808.
- VII. Viajes, Cartas de Miranda, 1782 a 1801, Miscelánea, 1771 a 1805, Impresos y Grabados, 1771 a 1805.
- VIII. Revolución francesa, Copiador de correspondencia, 1792 a 1793, Comunicaciones oficiales, 1792 a 1793.

In connection with the Caribbean Conference scheduled to be held in San José de Costa Rica, March 20-27, 1932, but indefinitely postponed, appeared an excellent *Bibliografía Selecta*, containing a list of the more recent and authoritative works on the following topics:

- Imperialismo Económico y Relaciones Económicas Inter-americanas.
- Intervención y Ocupación Norteamericanas. Haití, Nicaragua, Puerto Rico.
- Cuba y la Enmienda Platt.
- Canales Interoceánicos: Panamá y Nicaragua.

Política de reconocimiento de los Estados Unidos y los Tratados de Washington.

Nexos de relaciones deseables entre las dos Américas.

Copies of this bibliography may be obtained from Professor Joaquín García Monge, Director of the *Repertorio Americano* and head of the Biblioteca Nacional, Apartado X, San José, Costa Rica.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

OTHER BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The last volume written by Professor Bernard Moses (*Spain Overseas*, New York, The Hispanic Society of America, 1929, pp. 114) consists in his own words of "marginal comments on some sections of the general history of Spanish America". Its eight chapters discuss: Spain in the colonizing period; Bases of Spanish colonial society; Developed and less-developed races in contact; Mexico the typical Spanish colony; A social revolution and its consequences; Spain's successors in America; Spanish régime in the Philippine Islands; and Spain's successor in the Philippine Islands. As an appendix is given "An extract from the official report of the meetings of the Philippine Commission". While there is nothing new or especially striking in the work, it is in general sound and is of interest as being the last product from the pen of the scholar who more than any one else in the United States set going the present-day study of the history of Hispanic America. The following comment (p. 73) is worth quoting:

It has already become the habit to disparage the features of greatness displayed by Spain in exploring and colonizing America and the islands of the Pacific. We can hardly expect the American will render a just judgment in the case, for he is the historical antagonist of the Spaniard, and because of political rivalry he has always found it difficult to appreciate fully the achievements of the Spaniards. The Spaniard is conservative, while the American is radical. The Spaniard is skilful in formulating rules and methods, the American is prompt in action. The Spaniard's power in constructing legal forms is seen in Spanish colonial legislation, which is more completely unified and systematized than that of any other nation.

Professor Moses has drawn a just picture of the Filipino, neither flattering nor belittling him. He was, it will be remembered, a member of the first Philippine Commission.

Dr. James B. Childs, Chief of the Catalogue Division of the Library of Congress, formerly Chief of the Document Division has recently published *The Memorias of the Republics of Central America and of the Antilles*. This bibliography is distinctly useful, covering a field notably weak in bibliographical apparatus. Document material, especially that of the countries named has been a source of difficulty to students and bibliographers. The present carefully planned, and thoroughly executed list will conjure that difficulty. It affords adequate control of the materials covered and forms an indispensable *vade mecum* to the student of the political history and administrative organization of Central America and the Antilles. As the title indicates, this is a list of *memorias*, *informes*, and other administrative reports. The arrangement is by countries in alphabetic order, subarranged by the different ministries or executive departments. Preceding each major division is a brief but lucid note outlining the administrative organization of the country in question. Notes of similar character may precede each minor, or departmental division. In addition there are throughout the list notes specifying changes in departmental grouping and also content notes uncovering special material that would not be expected in the ordinary report. These notes add greatly to the usefulness of the list, and enhance its value as a guide to source material on current political history. A novel and useful feature is that the title of each individual report is given in full, with imprint and collation. In the reviewers opinion, Mr. Childs has made a very useful contribution to Hispanic American bibliography. This list is built on an admirable plan. It is unique in its field, and will be an indispensable tool in working out the confused history of the Central American Republics, through the sources formed by the documentary material. It has been published by the Library of Congress through the Government Printing Office.—C. K. JONES.

Interest in the study of the Mayas has become intensified during the last dozen years. One of the latest results of the present interest is George Dee William's *Maya-Spanish Crosses in Yucatan* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931). This is No. 1, vol. XIII. of the "Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University" and was published by the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College. The report (pp.

xv, 256 and 47 plates) "is based upon field work in physical anthropology" carried on in Yucatan in 1927 by Dr. Williams of the School of Medicine at Washington University in St. Louis. The work was made possible by a grant awarded by the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College to Professor E. A. Hooton. The book is mainly technical in character. It contains, however, a short description of the habitat of the Mayas and a short history, the latter being divided into Pre-Columbian history, Post-Columbian history, and population (both general and concerned with the Spanish element). The word "crosses", of course, refers to miscegenation. The treatise is concluded by a section on social phenomena, this including occupation, birthplace, residence, marriage, and the family. The historical remarks are drawn largely from Spinden, Tozzer, and Morley. The mixed bloods studied (880 men and 694 women) represent a mixture that has continued for over a period of three and a half centuries. The white blood has generally been Spanish. The study is biological in character and has as its object

to demonstrate the practicability of resolving a racially mixed and heterogeneous population into significantly differing subgroups which present a uniformity of physical characters, adaptive and non-adaptive, sufficient to justify the conclusion that relatively five racial types have been distinguished (p. 16).

There is a bibliography of 6 pages.

An abiding interest centers around the great figures of exploration and conquest. Columbus, Magellan, Cortés, Champlain, La Salle, Daniel Boone, Lewis and Clark never pall in their interest to generation after generation. Dr. L. V. Jacks has long been interested in Robert Cavelier, sieur de La Salle; and in his recent book *La Salle* (New York, Scribner's, 1931, pp. viii, 282, \$3.00) he has produced an excellent study of this heroic character. Most of the volume is naturally devoted to La Salle's activities in the north, for it was there that La Salle is at his best. Beginning with the eighth chapter, "Down to the sea" the scenes shift to the south: to La Salle's voyage down the Mississippi to the gulf; to his efforts in France to rouse the court to the importance of colonizing about the mouth of the Mississippi and thus keeping open the connection between the lands of the north and the vast territory to be gained for France; to his unfortunate quarrels with Captain Beaujeu, the miscalculation of the loca-

tion of the mouth of the Mississippi, and the still more unfortunate colony established in the wilds of Texas. The end comes with the assassination of the great leader by men who were unfitted for the discomforts and toils of the pioneer and who, had they remained in France, would probably have ended their days at least without the notoriety attaching to unfaithfulness. In this attempt to colonize the south, French and Spanish interests were brought perilously close and led to intense rivalry, with the odds for the time being in favor of Spain. This rivalry has well been told by W. E. Dunn. The Spanish activity in Florida, of which the La Salle incident was a prelude is still to be worked out in its entirety. This is now being studied by Dr. Irving A. Leonard of the University of California and The Florida State Historical Society will publish a series of documents translated and edited by him. In his book, Dr. Jack naturally touches but slightly on the Spanish element, though one might wish he had done more along this line. As a study of La Salle it is a capital book and the reader can detect the strength and weakness of this man from Rouen.

The University of Pennsylvania has published as No. 23 of its "Series in Romance Languages", a thesis by Jefferson Rea Spell, entitled *The Life and Works of José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi* (Philadelphia, 1931, pp. 141). Dr. Spell has long been interested in this famous pamphleteer and has already published various articles on him in a number of reviews. The thesis is divided into four chapters, namely: The Life of Fernández de Lizardi; His literary work; El Pensador as a pamphleteer; and the Place of Fernández de Lizardi in Mexican Literature. There is also a good bibliography. The work is an excellent contribution to the social history of Mexico. Dr. Spell concludes his study as follows:

He created the first Mexican novel; he brought that form of fiction down to the level of the common people; he linked the Mexican novel in peculiar fashion with that of a typical form of Spanish literature; in his attention to realistic detail and local color, he was a forerunner of the *costumbristas*; and he turned the attention of later Mexican writers to the fascinating material offered by the colorful life about them. Had he been less of a teacher, had he felt less the obligation to better the condition of his compatriots, Lizardi would have been a greater literary artist. Yet through *El Periquillo*, with all its defects, the Mexican people have been brought to see themselves as he saw them, and the world

has been given the opportunity to know them as he did; for in that work, more than in any other, Lizardi caught the spirit of colonial Mexico and immortalized it.

The Imprensa Industrial (78 R. Visc. de Itaparica, Recife) has published (1930) a volume entitled *Faculdade de Direito do Recife: Traços de sua Historia* (pp. 91, [3]). The various chapters discuss the following matters: (1) Centenary of the Academy of Law of Recife; The memorial of Professor Phaelante da Camara; Traditions; A new Coimbra; the Republics. (2) The spirit of the Corporations in Olinda; the Spirit of the Universities; the University of Paris; that of Oxford; Italian Universities; those of the small German cities; Spanish universities; Coimbra. (3) The religious sentiment; Academic journalism; Lourenço Rebeiro and the Constitution; Juridical study in the Academy of Olinda; organic idealism. (4) The pure idealists; religious *Feição*; the Pernambuco *Jugendbund*; the School of Recife; theatrical functions; Serenades to the Moon. (5) Absence of physical culture; Discipline without rule; Paula Baptista and Guimaraes. (6) The philosophical Movement initiated by Tobias; Naturalism applied to government; the so-called New Thought; opposition to Germanism. (8) Clovis and Martins, Jr.; José Hygino; Mallet and others; the fading of traditions. In reading this, Dr. Manuel de Oliveira Lima's two works on Pernambuco should be consulted.

John M. Garvan's *Manobos of Mindanao*, recently published by the Government Printing Office for the National Academy of Sciences at Washington is an extraordinary piece of original investigation. Mr. Garvan is a careful investigator and has described in his book the result of first-hand investigations. The book (pp. 251 and 14 plates) is divided into four parts (twenty-nine chapters in all) in which the Manobos are treated from all angles. The volume is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the so-called wild peoples of the Philippines. It should be of service in the present discussions in congress relative to the status of the Philippine Islands because of its importance as a sociological study.

Another valuable study of native peoples of the Philippines is Mabel Cook Cole's *Savage Gentlemen* (New York, D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1929, pp. xv, 249). The author, who is the wife of the well known ethnologist, Dr. Fay Cooper Cole, of Field Museum, accom-

panied the latter during his expeditions among the wild peoples of the island of Luzon. In all she spent four years, mostly among the Tinguians of North Luzon. In her book she has gathered together much valuable material relative to the daily life of these interesting folk. Meeting them sympathetically, Dr. and Mrs. Cole were given the same sympathy. The title was not chosen at random, but is an expression of the courteous treatment received from the people. The volume abounds in valuable descriptions of actual experience. Though the author would probably disclaim any intention of producing a work for ethnologists, she has done that very thing. An introduction was written by Dr. George A. Dorsey.

The American Geographical Society has published many excellent monographs. One of the most interesting of these is Research Series, No. 16, *Peopling of the Argentine Pampa*, by Mark Jefferson (New York, 1926, pp. viii, 211). In its eight chapters it discusses: The historical and geographical setting; Immigration and political conditions; Esperanza, the first agricultural colony; Other early colonies in Santa Fe Province; Southern Santa Fe colonies; Colonies of the Entre Rios Province; The railroads and the transformation of agriculture; Immigration as an asset to the Argentine. There is also an appendix which consists of a statistical table showing the annual Argentine immigration and emigration, 1857-1924.

Bulletin No. 91, published by the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1929), is entitled *Additional Studies of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians* (pp. 110) and was compiled by Walter E. Roth. The preface is especially interesting and valuable. There is also a good bibliography.

Miss Stella Risley Clemence, of the Library of Congress, has completed the proofreading of her Calendar of the Peruvian Papers of the Harkness Collection of the Library of Congress. The collection has 1056 documents relating to Peru and the early Peruvian conquistadors. The documents range in date from 1531 to 1650, about half being of the two earliest decades, 1531-1550. More than 2,000 persons are mentioned in these documents, so that the calendar will furnish a great deal of information relative to early Spanish Peru.

Miss Clemence has transcribed in full the letters written by the Pizarros and Almagro—70 documents in all. It is hoped that these will be published in a separate volume. See the Report of the Chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress for 1931 (p. 77 of the annual Report of the Librarian).

The *Story of Columbus* (Chicago, Albert Whitman & Co., 1931, pp. 180, \$1.00) by Mara L. Pratt Chadwick is a book for young people and belongs to the series "Jolly Junior Books". The account is the traditional one and the author has evidently not read any of the modern studies of Columbus and his achievements. As a consequence, Columbus is over idealized, which even for young people is questionable. The account is well written, however, and the book is well illustrated. "La Rabida" occurs under the form "La Rabidi".

Leslie Thomas publishes through William Morrow and Co. (New York), a volume for children entitled *Since Columbus: An illustrated History of America for Children* (1931; pp. 31, \$2.00). The story, which is intended for very small children, has a few references to Spanish discovery.

The Leif Erikson Memorial Association has published (1930) the eighth edition of Rasmus B. Anderson's little book *America not discovered by Columbus* (pp. 176). The book was written, of course, to bring out the discovery by the Norsemen and states the Norse position clearly. It is a racial vindication. Too much credence is given to other expeditions which were reported to have reached the new world before Columbus. The Norse expedition of them all did really reach America, but probably did not penetrate so far south as has been claimed for it. There is a useful bibliography of expeditions prior to that of Columbus.

The Library of Congress has recently (1931) published a *Guide to the Cataloguing of the Serial Publications of Societies and Institutions*, which was compiled and edited by Harriet Wheeler Pierson, of the Catalogue Division. This will be of use for the cataloguing of such material relating to Hispanic America.

Franklin J. Holbrook has compiled in multigraphed form a useful volume entitled "Survey of Activities of American Agencies in Rela-

tion to Materials for Research in the Social Sciences and the Humanities. The work was compiled for the joint committee on materials for research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, and was published by the Coöperating Councils in Washington and New York (1932). A number of the societies listed are interested in Hispanic America.

As No. 7 of its Bibliographical Series (mimeographed), the Pan American Union issued on March 1, 1932, a "Selected List of Books and Magazine Articles on Inter American Relations". This was compiled in the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union, which is under the direction of Charles E. Babcock. The list is very useful and can be employed to advantage in many ways. Through the generous coöperation of the Pan American Union, copies of this list have been sent to all members of the Inter-American Bibliographical Association.

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* for July, 1931, continues its "United States Troops in East Florida, 1812-13". This is the fifth part of this interesting lot of documents contributed by Mr. T. Frederick Davis, of Jacksonville. The letters of this issue relate to Col. Edward Nichols and Captain George Woodbine.

The Florida State Historical Society published on December 31, 1931, a book of documents translated and edited by Professor Arthur Preston Whitaker, of Cornell University. The volume, the tenth work to be published by the Society, entitled *Documents relating to the commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas with incidental reference to Louisiana*, is preceded by a historical introduction by Professor Whitaker. This volume will be reviewed in a future number of this REVIEW.

